MUSLIM RULE IN KASHMIR

(1554 A.D. to 1586 A.D.)

Nizam-Ud-Din-Wani

Rule of the Chaks in Kashmir from 1554 to 1586 A.D., though described by various authors in their books, has not received the attention it really deserved. The gap lift by the various historians has been abridged in the present book after a deep investigation and study by the author. The book contains a detailed description about the rise of Chaks and gives an account of their consolidation. Interestingly territory fixed by Ghazi Shah remained unchanged under his successors.

Reign of Yusuf Shah has been covered widely. It was during his reign that the most hated tax of Jaziya was abolished. His submission to the Moughals and his end is very interesting. Main rival king of Chak was Akbar. Atlast the Moaghal emperors became very cruel to these Chaks because there were many complaints about them. Moughal rulers ordered to kill them at sight. To save themselves, the Chaks became Gulbans.

Culture of Kashmir saw a sharp rise and also declined during the reign of Chak. Their love for music was also very famous.

The book must be read with interest so that one can understand the Chaks very well. The author has taken lot of pains in bringing to light the reign of Chak.

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By

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Preface

Kashmir, as is evident from various sources available, had a deep-rooted historical tradition. For a considerably long period of time it remained under a number of Hindu dynasties in succession. But with the beginning of the 14th century A.D., the increasing pressure of the Muslims brought the Hindu rule crumbling down and registered their triumph by establishing an independent Muslim State in Kashmir in 1339 A.D.

Kashmir was successively ruled in complete independence by two Muslim dynasties : 'the Shahmiri' (1339-1554 A.D.) and 'the Chak' (1554-1586 A.D.). Kashmir could not escape for long the invincible forces of Mughal imperialism and was finally annexed to the Mughal empire by Akbar on 16th October, 1586.

Attempts have been made by some of the modern historians like Dr. G.M.D. Sufi, Dr. R.K. Parmu, Prof. Mohibbul Hasan, Dr. N.K. Zutshi and Dr. Abdul Qayum Rafiqi to bring to light the history and culture of medieval Kashmir but each one of them has either written a general history of a particular period or presented a monograph on an individual ruler or dwelt upon a cultural aspect. With the result, the Chak dynasty has not received the attention it really deserved.

The extensive works of Dr. Sufi and Dr. Parmu are at best the general surveys of various Muslim dynasties who ruled over Kashmir. Similarly, Professor Mohibbul Hasan has covered the period from 1339 A.D. to 1586 A.D., but he too has laid stress particularly on the activities of Shahmiri rulers while the Chak period; so full of political, religious and cultural interest, is conspicuous by its superficial treatment. The work of Dr. N.K.

Zutshi, entirely deals with Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70 A.D.), the greatest of the Sultans of Kashmir.

Thus a substantial scope left by the aforesaid historians, for the Chak history, has been fully utilized in this work. A rich variety of source material preserved in numerous works written in Sanskrit, Persian and Kashmiri languages, archaeological remains, inscriptions, coins, travellers' account, traditions and folklore is fully utilized.

An attempt has been made in this work to investigate the evolution of political institutions, under the Chaks, placed in the overall historical perspective of the 16th century developments. The important aspects like, religious controversies, issues relating to internal politics and foreign affairs including the Kashmir-Mughal relations and the cultural renaissance under the liberal patronage of some of the Chak rulers, and finally, the fall of the dynasty have been studied and investigated.

I now take this opportunity of expressing my deep sense of gratitude and feeling of indebtedness to Dr. N.K. Zutshi, now Reader in the Department of Medieval and Modern Indian History, Lucknow University, for exercising patient and able supervision at all stages of this study. I sincerely offer my thanks to him for leading the work to its successful completion.

I am also highly grateful to Dr. A.C. Bose, Professor of History, Dr. G.S. Chhabra, Professor and Head of the History Department, Jammu University and other staff members of the Department for their kind cooperation and encouragement during the period of my research.

I also wish to place on record my thanks to late Muhammad Amin Mahjoor and Autar Krishan belonging to Research and Public Library, Srinagar, and Shrikanth Kaul for their help and valuable suggestions.

I am also thankful to the staff of the Central Archaeological Library (New Delhi), National Archives and Sapru House Library (New Deihi), Tagore Library and Amir-ud-Daulah Public Library (Lucknow), Research and Public Library (Srinagar), Ranbir Singh Library (Jammu), and the Central Library, Jammu University, Jammu.

I also wish to express my sincere gratitude to the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, for their award of Study-cum-Travel Grant (contingency), to work on this research project.

Lastly, I will be failing in my duty if I do not express my deep thanks to my father Kh. B.D. Wani, who, besides encouraging me in this endeavour and giving various useful suggestions, translated for me the two important Persian works : *Baharistan-i-Shahi* (anonymous) and *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Haidar Malik Chadura. I am also indebted to my wife, Syeeda Wani (Engineer Electric), for her continued cooperation at every stage of this work.

NIZAM-UD-DIN WANI

Contents

Abbreviations Used

A.A.	:	Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazl, vols. I and II, English translation.
A.N.	:	Akbar Nama by Abul Fazl, vols. II and III, English translation.
Azam	:	Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Mohd. Azam Didmari, Urdu translation.
Badauni	:	Munta-Khab-ut-Tawarikh by Abdul Qadir Badauni, vols. I, II and III, English translation.
B.S.	:	Baharistan-i-Shahi by an anonymous author.
Birbal	:	Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Birbal Kachru.
Firishta	:	Tarikh-i-Firishta, vol. IV, English translation.
H.M.	:	Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Haidar Malik Chadura.
Hasan	:	Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Maulvi Hasan, vol. II, Urdu translation.
J.A.B.S	:	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.B.B.R.A.S.	:	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.I.H.	:	Journal of Indian History.
Jonaraja	:	Rajatarangini of Jonaraja, English translation.
J.P.H.S.	:	Journal of the Punjab Historical Society.
J.R.A.S.	:	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Lawrence	:	The Valley of Kashmir.

Leitner	:	Results of tours in Dardistan, Kashmir, Ladakh and Tibet etc.
Leydon	:	Encyclopaedia of Islam.
Mohibbul Hasan	:	Kashmir under the Sultans
Parmu	:	A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir.
Rafi-ud-Din	:	Nawadir-ul-Akhbar.
R.T.	:	Rajatarangini, English translation by A. Stein.
Sayyid Ali	:	Tarikh-i-Kashmir.
Srivara	:	Jaina-Rajatarangini, English translation.
Stein	:	Rajatarangini of Kalhana, English translation by A. Stein.
Suka	:	Rajavalipataka of Suka, English translation.
Tabaqat	:	Tabaqat-i-Akbari by Nizam-ud-Din Ahmed vols. II and III, English translation.
T.R.	:	Tarikh-i-Rashidi by Mirza Haidar Dughlat.
Tuzuk	:	Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, vols. I and II, English translation.

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Rise of the Chaks

By the beginning of the fourteenth century almost the whole of Northern India had passed under the regime of Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316) but the kingdom of Kashmir was yet to fall in the hands of Muslim rulers. It does not mean that Kashmir did not attract the attention of the foreign Muslim conquerers. In fact, during the successive rule of various Hindu dynasties, Karkotas (613-855 A.D.), Utpalas (855-1003 A.D.) and Loharas (1003-1309 A.D.) Kashmir was subject to a number of invasions which were only in the nature of sensational episodes and ended in failure. It is indeed surprising that Kashmir in the 13th century presented such a decadent social and political spectacle that it often tempted a foreign invader without being subjected. And when finally it fell under the control of a Muslim dynasty, it was the outcome of internal revolution so complete and decisive. The kingdom slipped out of the hands of Hindu rulers and a fugitive named Shahmir[1] from an adjoining area distinguished himself by a coup d'etat in 1339 A.D. when he established the Sultanate of Kashmir with himself as its first Sultan under the title of Shams-ud-Din. The new royal line which he set up came to be known as the Shahmiri dynasty after his name. The kings of this dynasty ruled Kashmir with varying degrees of success for over two centuries (1339-1554 A.D.),[2] after which they disappeared and were succeeded by a new line of Muslim kings heralding the

establishment of the Chak[3] dynasty. They ruled for a short period of thirty-two years (1554-86 A.D.).

There is no doubt that the Shahmiri dynasty produced a number of able rulers during the first one and a half centuries who consolidated and administered the kingdom with wisdom and efficiency. But with the passage of time, effete and ease-loving princes came to wield the royal sceptre. Lacking in wisdom and far-sightedness, they put the throne and crown in a trough of disturbance and gave full opportunity to opposite factions, who were always ready to fish in troubled waters, to gain some political advantage. Thus seeing the ominous sings of a crumbling empire, certain tribal groups began to exploit the situation to capture political power. Of these tribes, the most dominating were the Chaks and the Magres.[4] In the time of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-1470 A.D.)[5] these groups hardly dared to come out in open rivalry but after his death, they increasingly gathered strength which they finally used during the reign of his weak successors.[6] It were again these two classes who dominated the history of Kashmir after Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin till the Shahmiri dynasty tottered at its legs and its chapter came to a close at the hands of the rising Chaks in 1554 A.D. During this period of struggle, these two classes openly clashed with each other in their contest for political power, which they considerably exerted in turn, while on the other hand the king were reduced to the position of a mere spectator from the throne. Their struggle for the supremacy gathered momentum in the beginning of the sixteenth century and Kashmir was thrown into a state of utter confusion in which puppet kings were set up and deposed in rapid succession by these contending groups. The period which followed was one of the worst in which mutual rivalries, intrigues and a constant armed confrontation between the king and nobles, master and servant and among the landed magnates had become the order of the day. It was out of this chaos and confusion that Chaks carved out a kingdom for their own house in 1554 A.D. by successfully beating the other claimants almost equally powerful. The capture of royal power in Kashmir by the Chaks put an end to the rule of the Shahmiris and gave peace to the kingdom for

the next thirty-two years till Kashmir was annexed and assimilated in the Mughal Empire by Emperor Akbar in 1586 A.D.[7]

The Chaks exercised much influence on the political, religious and cultural life of Kashmir. Though their rule was a short one covering only the period from 1554 to 1586 A.D., yet they had a long and chequered history of their own even before and after their assumption of power. After their fall their role in Kashmir did not cease and they continued to display their worth and importance till they were finally reduced to penury. Today, their off-springs are known as Gulbans in Kashmir.[8] Their role after the fall would be discussed at the proper place.

Origin

Though we have extremely meagre information about their origin, owing to the paucity of original material yet a careful search of stray references both in contemporary Sanskrit and Persian chronicles yield encouraging results.

The later sources narrate many romantic and vainglorious events regarding their origin and these are fallacious and are based on the folk and myths.[9]

Dr. Parmu opines that "Chaks may have descended from the Chakmas of the Malaya peninsula or from the nomads of the Kipchak desert in Central Asia, who became known as Qazak. May be they originated from the Turkomans of Central Asia, or may they were a branch of some ancient tribe living in Kohkand region who committed robberies and attacked way-farers, when it appears, they were enlisted by some Mongol general when he invaded Northern India.[10] These are mere conjectures unsupported by any evidence.

Dr. Parmu has further tried to trace the genealogy of the Chaks from Alamkarachakara, the feudal Lord of Karna (the ancient Karna) who caused much destruction to Raja Jaisimha (1128-55 A.D.) in concert with Bhoja.[11] This identification too, like the previous ones lacks proof and is unacceptable on the following grounds. First, Kalhana though mentions his relationship with the Dardic people, yet he does

not attribute him to the Dardic stock, the offspring of which the Chaks were. Secondly, Kalhana has given the characteristics feature of Alamkara which are not in conformity with those of the Chaks, the descendants of Langar Chak,[12] e.g., Kalhana writes, "Alamkara, the superintendent of the great treasury (brhanday) embellished the land by constructing bathing huts, Mathas, Brahmapuris, bridges and the like. He is man of wisdom (Budha) was born from one who was versed in arts and was evergiving relief by medical herbs. He is known as poet who surpassed all liberal persons by his liberality.[13] Besides this description Kalhana is silent about the last days of Alamkara and his posteriors. Thus, while Kalhana has praised Alamkara for many virtues and talents, the Chaks who flourished in Kashmir before and during the time of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70 A.D.) possessed none of these qualities and were entirely different in nature and character from Alamkara. They were most ferocious, turbulent and warlike people, full of marauding habits. This contrast also renders unacceptable, the opinion of Dr. Parmu's identifying Alamkara with Langar Chak, who entered Kashmir much after Alamkara's existence. Moreover no contemporary Persian or Sanskrit chronicler supports the view.

Similarly Sufi[14] and Mohibbul Hasan only refers to the arrival of Langar Chak from Dardistan in the time of Raja Suhadeva of Kashmir which does not lead to any conclusion.[15]

Among the contemporary chroniclers, the author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* write that, "the Chaks came from Dardo (Dardistan). Langar Chak, the progenitor of the Chak dynasty, with his tribe migrated to Kashmir during the period of Raja Suhadeva (1301-20 A.D.) of Kashmir and settled in Tragam.[16] He further mentions that Langar Chak left his home place owing to the public opposition there.[17] The author also refers to the arrival of another Chak's tribal group, led by Shams Chak, the son of Hilmat Chak, from Gilgit at some later date which settled at Kopwara in Kashmir.[18]

Haidar Malik states in his *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* that "Langar Chak came to Kashmir from Barsal,[19] the capital of Dardistan, owing to the conflict with his brother for the throne."[20] He does not mention anything about Shams Chak.

Among the Sanskrit sources, the two different editions of *Jaina-Rajatarangini* give different versions. While the Bombay edition mentions the arrival of Langar Chak in the time of Suhadeva, the Calcutta edition is silent on this point.[21] Srikanth Koul, who has edited Jonaraja's text, and has strictly followed the Calcutta edition, condemns the versions given in other texts regarding the arrival of the Chaks. He calls it the fabrication of the later scribes.[22]

Jaina Rajatarangini (edited by Dutt) mentions, that many people came from different quarters and resort to the king (Suhadeva) for service.[23] But he does not refer to anv particular name.

From the above statements, the following conclusion can be drawn. First, the Chaks were not indigenous and came to Kashmir from Dardistan, the inhabitants of this place were commonly known as Dards. Dr. Leitner points, as is the case with uncivilised race generally, the Dard have no name in common but call each Dard tribe that inhabit a different valley by different name.[24]

Secondly the Chaks entered the valley as Dards and the name Chak was given to them in Kashmir. The Kashmiri called them by the name of 'Tsak'.[25]

Thirdly, the Chaks were the descendants of the royal scion as pointed out by the Persian contemporary chroniclers, Haidar Malik and the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, that Langar Chak left for Kashmir on account of the conflict with his brother for the throne and the opposition of the Dard people. After Langar Chak's flee, his brother might have occupied the throne, the descendants of whom too migrated to Kashmir, possibly owing to differences with other Dard tribes. This is clearly mentioned in *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, that another group of the Chak tribe came from Gilgit (which also falls in the same tract of Dardistan) under Shams Chak, son of Hilmat Chak and settled at Kopwara in Kashmir.[26] Thus the Chak tribe which had split earlier into two factions in Dardistan, over the differences on the throne, bore enmity and jealousy against each other. But both were driven out to seek asylum on the hospitable land of Kashmir, by their countrymen. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, mentions about the hostility which the

two Chak factions have kept alive in their bosoms, in these words, "the two Chak tribes had never been on cordial relations with each other in past and neither did possess any near relation now owing to enmity, though being the descendants of one and the same tribe."[27]

Fourthly, being brave, intrepid, enormous in stature and warlike, the later historians have woven various myths about their origin. In view of their enormous physical size and ferocity they were assumed to be the descendants of a big giant, which became a fact for those historians who believed in legends, folk tales and myths, and took the Chaks to be the off-springs of an amorous demon blindly.[28]

Chaks Activity under Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin

The Chaks who settled in Kashmir in the time of Raja Suhadeva, did not attract the attention of Kashmiri kings till Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin came to power in 1420.[29] But it is clear from the account of Srivara, the court historian of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, that the Chaks by the time had earned a bad name because of their turbulent habits and depredations which had now become a main trait of their character.[30] Therefore by the time of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, they had turned ferocious and militant to such an extreme, that under their leader Pandu Chak they at once rebelled against the Sultan, when the later tried to check them from depredations and evil deeds which they were committing in and around the place of their habitants. No doubt they were mercilessly tortured and suppressed, when they rebelled, but only after a year of this event they attracted the notice of the government and gained importance.[31]

Causes of the Chaks Rebellion

Baharistan-i-Shahi is the only source from which a vivid account of this rising can be obtained. Relying on the facts mentioned in this chronicle, one can attribute the following causes for the Chaks revolt in the early period of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin's reign.

First, the Sultan wanted to establish peace for a fairly long time through efficient administration but the same was being disturbed by the persistently recalcitrant attitude and the unscrupulous practices of the Chak tribe.[32]

Secondly, the Chaks had captured a large portion of stateland and were behaving like proprietor and exploiting the peasantry at Tragam in Kamraj.[33]

Thirdly, the Sultan in order to infuse vigour and efficiency in the administration was exercising great vigilance over the whole parts of the kingdom. Tragam, inhabited by the Chaks, was the most sensitive area and was prone to frequent trouble owing to the Chaks depredations. The moment, Sultan tried to disrupt and suppress their marauding habits, the whole of the tribe exhibited the bellicose attitude to the Sultan.[34]

Fourthly, the inhabitants of Tragam and its surroundings were overawed by the Chak tribe and were afraid of combating with them openly. Obviously, they were eager to get rid from the oppressions and cruelties of the Chaks. They kept Sultan constantly informed of the Chaks activities and cooperated whole-heartedly when he attacked them....[35] Thus for reasons of punishing the Chaks, the Sultan created a new sub-divisional headquarter of Zainagiri with a complex of government buildings in Kamraj where from a constant watch could be kept on their activities. The Chaks, apprehensive of dreadful prospects of being subjected to forced labour (begar) in the event of the Sultan taking up his residence there displayed a spirit of revolt.[36]

Fifthly, it is also stated in *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, that "the Chaks became dreadful when they came to realize that in the event of the priggish Sultans away in their vicinity, they would be reduced to nadir. The whole tribe of the Chaks would be disowned of the illegally raised property, their freedom would be hampered and they would be brought under an effective administrative control. In case of any violation, they would be put on forced labour and have to remain in servitude for the future under the new Sultan.[37]

The immediate cause which precipitated the crisis was when the Sultan ordered for the construction of residential palace in Zainagiri vicinity and the plantation of fruit trees in its

surroundings. He further requisitioned the services of the local inhabitants for forced labour and the Chaks were conspicuous by not coming to join in the forced labour. Not only this, but when the Sultan was away at the capital and a few labourers were at work, the Chaks under their leader Pandu Chak in a daring raid put the newly constructed Sultan's palace and other buildings on fire and withdrew to the defiles of Tragam.[38] Pandu Chak took the precaution of sending his tribes female members across the mountains to the village Drav.[39] Receiving this shocking news, the Sultan at once despatched a military contingent to chastise Pandu Chak, but the latter succeeded in escaping and joining his family members at Drav. The royal force, however, burnt down all the strongholds of the Chaks in Tragam. They could do nothing beyond this for the Chaks were sheltered by the villagers of Drav. The palace of Zainagiri was, in the meantime, ordered by the Sultan to be reconstructed. The task of rebuilding was not yet complete when Pandu Chak, in sheer vengeance, made a second raid with his tribesmen and destroyed again the palace by putting it on fire.

Seeing no alternative, except to bring about their complete ruin, the Sultan followed a judicious policy in catching Pandu Chak. Instead of sending any force after him, he successfully induced the villagers of Drav to lend a hand in rounding the Chaks up for which he promised them rewards in form of royal gifts and robes.[40] Pandu Chak his whole family, kinsmen, relatives and supporters were captured and brought before the Sultan. The Sultan flogged Pandu Chak to death along with other leading Chaks who were fit to bear arms.[41] Only infants and ladies, states the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* were spared and the Sultan sent them to the village of Kwaran (modern Karan) in the district of Maraj.[42]

For the first time in Kashmir, the Chak tribe received a severe punishment for their marauding activities. State land was confiscated from them and their houses were destroyed at Tragam (in Kamraj). But the Sultan showed his magnanimity in re-habilitating the women and children who were spared from the punishments, at Kwarin in Maraj district with complete arrangements for their livelihood there.[43] Similar

account has been given by the Sultan's court historians Srivara, that, "the Sultan (Zain-ul-Abidin) knew Chakara of Kamraj and others to be wicked men and he therefore confiscated their land, (but) made provision for their livelihood and inhabited them in Madav (Maraj) country."[44] Srivara's Chakaras and others should be identified with Pandu Chak and his followers. When among these surviving Chaks, the infants and children came to maturity they were less unscrupulous and turbulent than their predecessors. And with the passage of time, they became a honoured class and, as the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* writes, 'the leading nobles and respectable families were attracted to this tribe and developed matrimonial relations with them. Husain Chak, the posthumous son of Pandu Chak became a leading noble. The future Tragami Chaks were his descendants.[45]

Political Confusion and Rise of Shams Chak

The Chaks who were settled by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin in Tragam, were destined to exercise considerable influence on Kashmir politics not only as powerful nobles but also as rulers of a dynasty to which they gave their own name for a quarter of a century (1554-1586 A.D.).

After the death of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, the Chaks began their political career under their new leader Shams Chak son of Hilmat Chak, who had lately reached Kashmir from Gilgit.[46] At Kashmir, Shams Chak, first served a powerful noble Sayyid Muhammad but soon he joined service under another noble Malik Nauroz Zatu son of Ahmed Zatu, where he found better chance of rise than was under Sayyid Muhammad.[47]

With his skill in diplomacy and personal gallantry, he made his mark in Kashmir politics. Besides being possessed of a strong physique and military talents Shams Chak earned good reputation while fighting wars under Malik Nauroz Zatu.[48] He continued with his tactics during the troublous days of a fierce contest for supremacy amongst various clans till he finally went in the services of Malik Saifdar, Wazir of Sultan Fateh Shah (1488-1493 A.D.). To strengthen his position further, he married the daughter of Husain Chak, posthumous

son of Pandu Chak, who was still living at Kwarin village in Maraj district.[49] The author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* writes that "after his marriage with Husain's daughter the two families, which hitherto had been hostile to each other now became friendly and their blood relation was once again strengthened. Husain Chak, along with all his followers joined Shams Chak and declared him the leader of the tribe."[50]

Shams Chak as Wazir

Shams Chak played a leading role against Saifdar the Wazir of Fateh Shah, who was drawn into an ambuscade and was killed in the battle which was fought at Ramalana.[51] Impressed by his valour and prowess Sultan Fateh Shah appointed Shams Chak his Wazir.

Among the Chaks Shams Chak was the first to become the Wazir of a king. This was a great honour to the whole Chak tribe.

Shams Chak could not remain in the office for more than two and a half year owing to the bitter opposition of many other nobles like Ibrahim Magre, Hajipadre, Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi who combined to fight against him in the field of Zalidgarh.[52] No doubt, Shams Chak and his cousin brother Kaji Chak came out to give them fight but they were defeated and fled to Kamraj and took refuge in Tragam. The victorious faction brought Muhammad Shah, Fateh Shah's brother to the throne for the second time in 1493 A.D. At the defeat of his Wazir, Sultan Fateh Shah demit the throne and escaped to Naushehra.[53]

Immediately after assumption of sovereign authority, Sultan Muhammad Shah tried to capture Shams Chak and followed him in Kamraj where he destroyed the Chaks strongholds, when he could not catch him there.[54] In retaliation to it, Shams Chak, who had sought his safety in flight to Sopore, made a cavalry attack at night over the Sultan. His best efforts to come out successful in the enterprise ended in his own defeat and he fled to Naushehra to join Sultan Fateh Shah, the deposed king.[55]

Shams Chak Wazir for Second Time

Sultan Fateh Shah regained the throne of Kashmir in 1505 A.D. owing to the continuous efforts of his noble Shams Chak. For his loyalty he was again appointed Wazir by the king.[56] Out of sheer revenge, Shams Chak after regaining his seat and power, mercilessly tortured his enemies. He ruthlessly punished the three sons of Sultan Muhammad Shah, who had taken shelter in the house of Bahram Dar in Sopore.[57] The eldest son Mir Sayyid Murtaza was rolled down from a hillock while he was fleeing for safety to Ladakh, Ibrahim, the second remained captive with the Raja of Ladakh and Yaqub, the third being minor was allowed to live peacefully at Srinagar.[58]

This kind of attitude was highly resented by Malik Musa Raina, formerly Wazir of Sultan Muhammad Shah. He tactfully entered into a conspiracy with Fateh Shah and Ibrahim Magre. Thus Shams Chak was captured by Bahram Dar and Duni Malik, under the directions of Fateh Shah and Malik Musa Raina and finally killed in the prison.[59] It is stated in the Persian chronicles that "Shams Chak died heroically and killed about sixty assassins with his pocket knife, before he was stuck down alongwith his son by a volley of an arrow. His chains from his feet were removed after he fell dead."[60] Malik Musa Raina became the Wazir of Sultan Fateh Shah after Shams Chak's death who had remained occupying this post only for four months.[61]

The death of Shams Chak was so much terrifying for the other Chak leaders that they crumbled for some period. They were reduced to extreme penury and their important leaders like Kaji Chak, Sarang Chak and Mir Chak were forced to join the service under Malik Musa Raina and his son Ali Raina. Under these circumstances majority of the Chaks were converted to Nurbakshiya faith at the hands of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi,[62] an influential religious divine, preaching the new faith at this time in Kashmir.[63]

An important reason for the Chaks conversion to Nurbakshiya faith besides economic pressure was the political pressure from the Sultan's Wazir Musa Raina, who had also embraced this faith at the hands of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi.[64]

son of Pandu Chak, who was still living at Kwarin village in Maraj district.[49] The author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* writes that "after his marriage with Husain's daughter the two families, which hitherto had been hostile to each other now became friendly and their blood relation was once again strengthened. Husain Chak, along with all his followers joined Shams Chak and declared him the leader of the tribe."[50]

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Among the Chaks Shams Chak was the first to become the Wazir of a king. This was a great honour to the whole Chak tribe.

Shams Chak could not remain in the office for more than two and a half year owing to the bitter opposition of many other nobles like Ibrahim Magre, Hajipadre, Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi who combined to fight against him in the field of Zalidgarh.[52] No doubt, Shams Chak and his cousin brother Kaji Chak came out to give them fight but they were defeated and fled to Kamraj and took refuge in Tragam. The victorious faction brought Muhammad Shah, Fateh Shah's brother to the throne for the second time in 1493 A.D. At the defeat of his Wazir, Sultan Fateh Shah demit the throne and escaped to Naushehra.[53]

Immediately after assumption of sovereign authority, Sultan Muhammad Shah tried to capture Shams Chak and followed him in Kamraj where he destroyed the Chaks strongholds, when he could not catch him there.[54] In retaliation to it, Shams Chak, who had sought his safety in flight to Sopore, made a cavalry attack at night over the Sultan. His best efforts to come out successful in the enterprise ended in his own defeat and he fled to Naushehra to join Sultan Fateh Shah, the deposed king.[55]

Shams Chak Wazir for Second Time

Sultan Fateh Shah regained the throne of Kashmir in 1505 A.D. owing to the continuous efforts of his noble Shams Chak. For his loyalty he was again appointed Wazir by the king.[56] Out of sheer revenge, Shams Chak after regaining his seat and power, mercilessly tortured his enemies. He ruthlessly punished the three sons of Sultan Muhammad Shah, who had taken shelter in the house of Bahram Dar in Sopore.[57] The eldest son Mir Sayyid Murtaza was rolled down from a hillock while he was fleeing for safety to Ladakh, Ibrahim, the second remained captive with the Raja of Ladakh and Yaqub, the third being minor was allowed to live peacefully at Srinagar.[58]

This kind of attitude was highly resented by Malik Musa Raina, formerly Wazir of Sultan Muhammad Shah. He tactfully entered into a conspiracy with Fateh Shah and Ibrahim Magre. Thus Shams Chak was captured by Bahram Dar and Duni Malik, under the directions of Fateh Shah and Malik Musa Raina and finally killed in the prison.[59] It is stated in the Persian chronicles that "Shams Chak died heroically and killed about sixty assassins with his pocket knife, before he was stuck down alongwith his son by a volley of an arrow. His chains from his feet were removed after he fell dead."[60] Malik Musa Raina became the Wazir of Sultan Fateh Shah after Shams Chak's death who had remained occupying this post only for four months.[61]

The death of Shams Chak was so much terrifying for the other Chak leaders that they crumbled for some period. They were reduced to extreme penury and their important leaders like Kaji Chak, Sarang Chak and Mir Chak were forced to join the service under Malik Musa Raina and his son Ali Raina. Under these circumstances majority of the Chaks were converted to Nurbakshiya faith at the hands of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi,[62] an influential religious divine, preaching the new faith at this time in Kashmir.[63]

An important reason for the Chaks conversion to Nurbakshiya faith besides economic pressure was the political pressure from the Sultan's Wazir Musa Raina, who had also embraced this faith at the hands of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi.[64]

Encouraged by Shams-ud-Din Iraqi, whose influence over Malik Musa Raina was indeed great the Chaks once again rallied round Kaji Chak and started their political campaign.[65]

It is noteworthy that there were different political groups viz., the Chaks, the Magres, the Lons, the Dars and Rainas, contesting for the throne at that time. But foremost among them were the first two groups. But while the Chaks were aliens and Nurbakshiya by faith, the Magres were indigenous and of pure Sunni stock. It were these two classes who dominated the historical stage of Kashmir and locked in conflict for the remaining period till the establishment of the Chak hegemony in 1554 A.D.

Coming to details, after Shams Chak's death Malik Musa Raina who had occupied the chair of Wizarat could not hold it for long because the group of Magres did not tolerate a staunch man of Nurbakshiya sect as the Wazir. Thus, owing to religious antagonism, and greed for power, Ibrahim Magre, the Magre group leader intrigued against Malik Musa Raina in connivance with Sultan Fateh Shah.[66] Various other nobles politically rival to Musa Raina also joined Ibrahim Magre. Hearing of this, Musa Raina escaped for his safety towards Punjab but in his hurried flight via Chirhara his horse took fright in the way and he fell dead on the ground.[67]

Rise of Kaji Chak

After Malik Musa Raina, the chair of Wizarat was filled by many men in succession under Sultan Fateh Shah, who was no more than a puppet in the hands of his nobles. It was under Malik Usman's Wizarat, that Kaji Chak, leader of the Chak group, in combination with Sultan Fateh Shah, and many other nobles like Jahangir Padre, Qadar Malik intrigued to kill the Wazir Malik Usman and capture the chair. They first killed his attendant at Diwan-i-Khana in the capital and seized Malik Usman. Thereupon Kaji Chak was set up as Wazir.[68] But only a month had elapsed when Ibrahim Magre returned from the Punjab with an army and defeated and imprisoned Kaji Chak and Jahangir Padre. Losing the support of his Wazir and nobles Sultan Fateh Shah left for Punjab, but

Ibrahim Magre soon recalled him from Hirapur where he had reached by this time and proclaimed him the Sultan while he himself became his Wazir. He also set free both Kaji Chak and Jahangir Padre.[69] Subsequent to these events, Kaji Chak started a dubious role of mediators or playing one noble against other. By resorting to this policy of sowing dissensions in the ranks of the nobles, Kaji Chak strengthened his own position.

Peace, however, lasted only for five months after which Muhammad Shah snatched the throne from Fateh Shah in 1514 A.D. for the third time, with the help of many Kashmiri disaffected nobles. While Sultan Fateh Shah left for the Punjab, Kaji Chak, instead of favouring the new Sultan, prepare to give him a battle and recalled Fateh Shah. In the meantime Fateh Shah sent from the Punjab his son Habib Khan[70] with Jahangir Padre to see the condition of Kashmir. Joined by Kaji Chak at Srinagar, they won over many nobles to their side. Seeing the defections among the nobles, Sultan Muhammad Shah and Ibrahim Magre left for Punjab without offering any resistance.[71] Fateh Shah was again Sultan for the third time after about nine months of exile.[72]

Recalling his old difficulties Sultan Fateh Shah (1515-17), resolved to divest himself of all regal authority. Moreover his Wazir Jahangir Padre and two other nobles Kaji Chak and Shankar Raina had assigned him only the revenue of the Khalisa land and divided the rest of the country among themselves.[73]

After a year of this development Sultan Muhammad Shah and Ibrahim Magre entered Kashmir in a bid to secure the throne but were defeated and Ibrahim Magre with his two sons was killed by Kaji Chak in that encounter.[74] Sultan Muhammad Shah again fled to the Punjab to solicite the aid from Sultan Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) who agreed to extend the military assistance. Thus with a force of about three thousand Lodi soldiers, Sultan Muhammad Shah set out towards Kashmir.[75] Hearing about his arrival, the mischievous nobles wrote letters of loyalty which Sultan Muhammad Shah received at Danaor.[76] Kaji Chak and Shankar Raina and his brother Nusrat Raina

seeing the turn of table in favour of the invader, deserted Sultan Fateh Shah while leading his force before the fort of Harshin[77] and joined throne without much trouble in 1517-18 while Sultan Fateh Shah fled to Punjab where he died in August 1517.[78]

Kaji Chak Wazir under Sultan Muhammad Shah

Sultan Muhammad Shah appointed Kaji Chak his Wazir and threw Malik Shankar Raina in prison for his treachery while himself went to see off the Lodi troops as far as Naushehra.[79]

Kashmir it seems had now become a fertile soil for internal dissensions, mutual rivalry and jealousy leading to bloody wars. It witnessed an incessant struggle amongst those nobles on whose shoulders rested the real administrative responsibility of the state. Factions among nobles multiplied, intensified by vested interests and Kaji Chak became the target of attack by nobles including Nusrat Raina, Lohar Magre and Jahangir Padre.

While Sultan Muhammad Shah was away at Naushehra to bid Lodi troops farewell and blocked there for some time by snow, the valley in his absence plunged into civil war, motivated by mutual jealousy, accentuated by religious Shia-Sunni[80] differences and finally disfigured by political just.[81] Lohar Magre and Malik Nusrat Raina, who was also jealous of his brother's imprisonment, were not slow to strike against Kaji Chak in the fort of Nagam. Kaji Chak with Jahangir Padre retaliated by a swift military confrontation inflicting a terrible defeat on them.[82] In this battle, Nusrat Raina lost his life and Lohar Magre fled to jungle. Kaji Chak himself received severe wounds and even lost one of his fingers.[83] This victory made Kaji Chak supreme authority in the kingdom almost like an uncrowned king. He took the whole administration in his hands and administered justice personally.[84] As one with shi-ite leanings, he started propagating doctrine of the faith with zeal and enthusiasm.[85] His religious attitude caused bitterness among his rivals. He also antagonised his old ally Jahangir Padre whom he forced to flee from Kashmir and had his property looted by his son Masud Chak. Jahangir

Padre left Srinagar and joined Qadai Malik in Dardistan.[86]

Tired of Kaji Chak's religious attitude and jealous of his power, a group of nobles led by Abdal Magre, Lohar Magre and Idi Raina brought back Sultan Fateh Shah's son Sikandar Khan from the Punjab in 1521 A.D. They were joined by Jahangir Padre and Qadai Malik on their way to Srinagar. In a tripartite league that they formed, they marched against Kaji Chak and seized the fort of Nagam. Kaji Chak despatched his son Masud Chak and other members of his tribe, including Daulat Chak, to intercept the invaders.[87] A fierce battle ensured resulting in the defeat of the invaders. Sikandar Khan made overtures for peace to Kaji Chak and descended to the Punjab.[88] The success proved very costly to Kaji Chak, because except the death of his many veteran leaders, his own son, Masud Chak was also killed while fighting.[89] It is mentioned in the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, that in this devastating battle, no one knew about each other and the news of Masud Chak's death was received at Shahab-ud-Din Pur.[90] After this successful enterprise Kaji Chak bestowed the jagir of his son Masud Chak upon his nephew Daulat Chak in recognition of his gallantry which he displayed against Qadai Malik and Jahangir Padre.[91]

Kaji Chak had not yet overcome the grief caused by the loss of his son, when he was challenged by the rival group of the Magre. But Kaji Chak diplomatically entered into matrimonial alliances with them and averted the clash.[92] Tired of his dominating Wazir, Sultan Muhammad Shah conspired with his nobles Abdal Magre, Lohar Magre and Regi Chak, a Sunni noble, to oust Kaji Chak. Kaji Chak sensed the trouble and without any opposition fled to Naushehra.[93]

Mughal Interest in Kashmir

At the time when Kashmir was in the grip of internal dissensions the Mughals under Kuchak Bag and Shaikh Ali Bag were despatched in 1527 by Emperor Babur to help Sultan Fateh Shah's son Sikandar Khan in securing the throne at the latter's request.[94] Kaji Chak no doubt, retired from the state affairs, was fired with patriotism and quickly despatched his

after a year from the north-east by the Kashghari forces. The Kashghari forces under Mirza Haider (Emperor Humayun's foster brother) and Sikandar Khan, son of Sayeed Khan (ruler of Kashghar) entered Kashmir on first March 1533 A.D. The Kashmiris, both the Chaks and the Magres offered some resistance but were defeated by the invaders. Ultimately after a series of attacks and counter-attacks, the peace was concluded and Kashghar's returned via Lar, after exchanging gifts. Kaji Chak again retired to his jagir and Abdal Magre went to the Pargana Bankil.[109]

The departure of the Kashgharis was followed by another hoodoo upon the Kashmiris. Famine stalked the land and the people suffered starvation from the natural calamity.[110] No sooner did they get rid of this calamity than Sultan Muhammad Shah died in the middle of 1537 A.D. after ruling intermittently for about fifty-one years.[111] He was succeeded by his second son Shams-ud-Din, but he lacked administrative ability and was soon replaced by his brother, Ismail Shah, the son-in-law of Kaji Chak.[112] Peace did not reigned in the country for long and after these developments, civil war flared up again. Disorder was intensified, when some Magre nobles won over many of the Chak nobles and attempted to grab the throne, Kaji Chak skillfully attempted to win these disaffected nobles who were changing their colour like chameleon. When he found that the treacherous nobles again joined Abdal Magre and came in an open clash at Zalidgarh, Kaji Chak, without any confrontation with the rebels, took his way to the Punjab.[113]

From outside Kaji Chak watched the politics of Kashmir and was eagerly waiting for some opportune time to strike. The time actually came when in the spring of 1538 A.D., Regi Chak, the religious as well as political rival of Kaji Chak left Kashmir to receive in marriage, the daughter of Jammu Raja.[114] During his absence Kaji Chak marched on Kashmir with a small force and stationed himself at Gasu.[115] From there he made an attack on Magres. While the siege was going on, Regi Chak also returned from Jammu and joined the Magres. Despite his efforts to suppress Kaji Chak, he suffered a defeat from Kaji Chak. The Magres fled to the Punjab, while Regi Chak went in to hiding.[116]

Kaji Chak Wazir under Sultan Ismail Shah

After defeating the Magres, Kaji Chak became the Wazir of Sultan Ismail Shah in 1538 A.D. but he was in fact the de facto ruler. This time Kaji Chak remained in power for the three years. So far as the distracted state of Kashmir admitted, he turned his attention to over all developments in general and administration of justice in particular. At the same time, in order to free himself from the fresh disturbance, he had a number of his rivals thrown into prison and several among them killed.[117]

The shi-ite leanings of the Chaks, it seems, stood as a disadvantage in their efforts towards political considerations. It was often natural for their rivals, who were Sunni, to exploit the religious factor to create opposition against them. Thus in the name of religion, both Chaks and Magres never hesitated to join political power. This state of perpetual conflicts had turned Kashmir into a disturbed area. During the later period of his reign, Kaji Chak, made a conscious effort to impose the Shia doctrine on both the Sunni-Muslims and Brahmins and had a book *Fiqqh-i-Ahwal*,[118] written by Shams-ud-Din Iraqi, circulated for the benefit of the newly conversed Kashmiris.[119] After ruling for one and a half year Sultan Ismail Shah[120] died and was succeeded by his son Ibrahim Shah. Kaji Chak continued to occupy the post of Wizarat.[121]

Mirza Haidar and Kashmir

Regi Chak who was the open rival of Kaji Chak both on political and on religious grounds turned against the latter when he started imposing Shi-ite faith upon the people. Consequently, he left the city and joined the Magres who were stationed outside Kashmir. Thus jointly the Magres and Regi Chak solicited the help of Mirza Haidar through the mediation of Khwaja Haji, who was acting as their agent with the Mughals.[122] They wrote many letters to Mirza Haidar who at this time had joined the service under Emperor Humayun, and assured him of their loyalty and faithfulness. It is noteworthy that the Mughals were in a critical position at this juncture. Emperor Humayun

was being hotly pursued by Sher Shah Suri after inflicting a severe defeat on him. Thus, Emperor Humayun, his brother Kamran Mirza, and Mirza Haidar a foster-brother and a faithful adherent of Humayun, were discussing at Lahore, to decide upon the future course of action. It was at this time that Mirza Haidar was being called upon by the disaffected Kashmiris to march on Kashmir. Mirza Haidar, who was well acquainted with the politics of Kashmir, pressed upon Humayun and Kamran to accept the proposal of an attack on Kashmir. But Kamran Mirza had to move to Delhi owing to Hindals rebellion there, and Mirza Haidar by great exertion contrived to raise an army which was despatched to Kashmir from Agra under Baba Chuchak,[123] one of Kamran's superior officers. Baba Chuchak still dilly-dallied in making immediate arrangements, for he wanted to spare his troops at this juncture, and for such an undertaking appeared strange to him. On the other hand, a plausible explanation for Mirza Haidar's keen interest in Kashmir affairs may be that he wished to secure Kashmir for the Mughals in anticipation of the approaching collapse of the Mughal Empire in Hindustan. However, Baba Chuchak abandoned the idea of proceeding to Kashmir when the news of the disaster of causa ferry came like a blue from the bolt.[124]

The Kashmiri nobles remained continuously at Naushehra awaiting Mirza Haidar's reply. Mirza Haidar convinced Emperor Humayun at Lahore of the advantage of the conquest of Kashmir, and taking his consent, marched on Kashmir. He was joined by Regi Chak and Abdal Magre at Naushehra.[125] From Naushehra, on 22nd November, 1540 Mirza Haidar marched on Kashmir through the unguarded passes, evading the troops drawn up to oppose him by Kaji Chak. Thus Mirza Haidar made his way secretly to Srinagar by following unfrequented routes and captured the capital of Kashmir. Kaji Chak's resistance ended in a fiasco. He left for Hindustan to seek help from Sher Shah Suri. the ruler of Delhi at that time.[126]

Mirza Haidar and the Chaks

With the arrival of Mirza Haidar in Kashmir a new era

dawned. Taking advantage of the domestic squabbles, he in the beginning earnestly favoured the Kashmiris but later on multiplying the dissensions, already existing on the soil of Kashmir, he tactfully wielded the royal sceptre and did away with the nominal suzerainty. For the first time, thus, coins were struck openly in the name of the Mughal Emperor, Humayun, which strengthened the Mughal claim over Kashmir in future.

As soon as Mirza Haidar achieved success over Kashmir, he divided it into three parts : one part he reserved for himself, the second was received by Regi Chak, and the third was given to Abdal Magre, who simultaneously was elevated to the position of Wazarat.[127] At the same time, the traditional set up was continued and Nazuk Shah[128] was recognized the nominal king of Kashmir. Early in the spring on the day of Nauroz, Abdal Magre, who planned the whole scheme of inviting Mirza Haidar died of paralysis[129] and his jagir alone with the post were bestowed upon his son, Husain Magre.[130]

Kaji Chak who had gone to Delhi was honourably welcomed by Sher Shah Suri who was impressed by the soars of wounds which Kaji Chak had received in various battlefields. For his bravery Sher Shah Suri conferred upon him the title of Khan-i-Khanan and prayed for his good future.[131] He was also allowed to take forces to his satisfaction. Thus, with the Afghan auxiliaries under the veterans, Husain Sherwani and Adil Khan, Kaji Chak marched on Kashmir via Hirapur.[132] Mirza Haidar, receiving this news, left his family in the fort of Andarkaul[133] and with Regi Chak advanced to meet the invader.[134] For complete three months the two parties engaged themselves in skirmishes, facing jointly natural troubles in the form of floods and heavy rains.[135] But after a desperate battle, Mirza Haidar successfully outwitted the Afghan force.[136] Kaji Chak found safety in flight and Sayyid Ibrahim Khan and Daulat Chak left Kashmir via Hirapur.[137] After this victory, Regi Chak again settled in his jagir at Kamraj.[138] His position soared up, but it was only a tentative rise in his career. Mirza Haidar was a far-sighted statesman. He had come to Kashmir with full determination to establish himself on its soil. He was already free from one of his strong rival i.e. Abdal Magre. He also

broke the back of Kaji Chak. He had now only to tackle Regi Chak. He tactfully infuriate him on a religious issue at Zalidgarh[139] and later cajoled him by posing his well wisher. Side by side, he won the favour of Malik Abdi Raina and Husain Magre and thus easily isolated Regi Chak from their friendship. Seeing all round desertion and Mirza's odium, Regi Chak eluded Mirza Haidar and joined his old sworn enemy Kaji Chak, who at this time was in Rajauri in 1543 A.D.[140]

Death of Kaji Chak and Regi Chak

A strange combination of the two religious rivals, who by this time were at dagger's drawn and had created so much confusion in Kashmir, that Kashmir had turned a pawn on the chess of the Mughal politics. Forgetting their old enmity, the two fugitive Chak nobles joined together against Mirza Haidar. In the spring of the next year both the Chak leaders entered Kashmir and encamped in the defiles of Gauri Marg[141] (Gulmarg) where they were also joined by Bairam Chak, son of Regi Chak.[142] Since both of them were advanced in age and had become tired owing to continuous warfare, they were soon dislodged and debouched by Mirza Haidar. All the three fled from Kashmir. At Thana on a Friday in September 1544 A.D. Kaji Chak died of ague and fever.[143] Regi Chak once again made a final attempt but was defeated and killed in 1546, along with his son Bairam Chak, by Mirza Haidar's forces. His head was separated from his body and presented to Mirza Haidar.[144]

Mirza's Religious Intolerance

With the death of Kaji Chak, the Chaks once again suffered a severe setback. At the same time they had to face the atrocities of Mirza Haidar. His eleven year rule (1540-1551 A.D.) dawned with many hoodoos on them. As a political expediency, Mirza Haidar had at first been liberal to the Shias, who were mostly Chaks, but with the passage of time he changed his attitude towards the Shia community and decided to exter-

minate them from the soil of Kashmir. He treated them ruthlessly and tortured them. In showing forth his religious zeal he went to such an extent that he did not spare the tomb of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi, their religious preceptor which was demolished and desecrated by his order. His surviving son Danial was caught and his head choped off along with those of his attendants. Every one of the Shi-ite faith was put to death.[145] And a time came when the Mirza himself boldly declared, "Thanks God at present time, no one in Kashmir dares openly to profess this faith but all deny it and give themselves out as good Sunnis."[146] The Chak community became a target of the Mirza's bigoted policy and suffered considerably both politically and religiously. Daulat Chak and Ghazi Chak who were at this time the leading personalities among the Chaks turned deadly against the Mirza.

Downfall of Mirza Haidar

In 1551 A.D. Mirza Haidar took the fort of Danial as a precautionary measure against the growing discontentment among the Chaks.[147] Adam Khan Gakkar endeavoured a reconciliation between Daulat Chak and Mirza Haidar. Consequently Daulat Chak was invited in the tent for a compromise. But Daulat Chak was offended at the cold reception he met with there. He left the camp and took away the elephant which he had brought to present to Mirza Haidar. The courtiers wished to pursue him but were stopped by Mirza Haidar. Now the Chaks turned scornfully against Mirza Haidar and decided to bring about his ruin. Consequently, Daulat Chak and Ghazi Chak rallied the Chaks together and started looking for an opportune time.[148]

At this juncture Azam Humayun, better known as Haibat Khan Niazi, who was being holly pursued by Islam Shah, ruler of Delhi, took refuge in the defiles of Kashmir,[149] and thence escaped to Rajauri, where the fugitive Chak leaders offered him their leadership and pressed him to assist them in their campaign against Mirza Haidar. But as he perceived that the king was coming in the rear and Mirza Haidar had already blocked the road to win Islam Shah's favour, he refused to

assist them in their campaign. The other reason for his refusal was that his Afghan attendants finding themselves lying between the devil and the deep sea disobliged to go to Srinagar and incur the displeasure of Mirza Haidar. Thus, instead of coming to the rescue of the fugitive Chaks, he decided to win the goodwill of Mirza Haidar. Therefore, he despatched a Brahmin agent to Mirza Haidar and promised him his loyalty and friendship.[150] Disgusted at his treacherous attitude, the Chaks deserted him. Some of them went over to Islam Shah, and others submitted before Mirza Haidar.[151] Although a man of magnanimous disposition, Mirza Haidar was a strong champion of orthodoxy. As stated earlier, Mirza began with a liberal policy for political reasons, but as he found his position strengthened, he promptly changed his religious attitude alienating all the Kashmiris. Moreover, by striking coins in the name of Emperor Humayun first and later in that of Islam Shah, Mirza placed himself on the edge of a Valcano which soon irrupted. The leading political groups in Kashmir, the Chaks and the Magres, forgetting their past rivalry, joined hands together against their common foe Mirza Haidar under the common leadership of Husain Magre. Meanwhile, troubles broke out in the outer hills in 1551 A.D. Mirza sent Qara Bahadur at the head of an army, comprising both the Kashmiris and the Mughals. The Kashmir troops planned to make an appropriate use of the opportunity of punishing the Mughals. When they reached near the fort of Mankot,[152] the Kashmiris deserted the Mughal soldiers and fell upon them, looted them, and killed many of them, while at the same time they imprisoned Qara Bahadur. After this success, Idi Raina who played a vital role in this enterprise, joined hands with Daulat Chak and Ghazi Chak and marched on Kashmir via Hirapura to Srinagar.[153]

The event was followed by a general uprising throughout Kashmir and everywhere the Mughals met the same fate. As this distressing news poured in from all sides, Mirza Haidar in concert with his followers came out to quell the rebellion led by the Kashmiri veteran leaders Idi Raina, Daulat Chak, and Ghazi Chak, at Manar near Khampur.[154] Mirza Haidar planned a night attack on the fort where the rebel had stationed but lost

his life when an arrow struck him down while he was climbing the wall of the fort (1551 A.D.).[155] Next morning, the dead body of Mirza was discovered and the Chaks tried to mishandle it, but it was protected and safely carried away by Husain Magre and Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi and was buried beside the grave of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin after five days.[156]

Rise of Daulat Chak

With the exist of Mirza Haidar, power devolved upon the shoulders of Idi Raina, who had long been desirous of capturing it. Accordingly, Nazuk Shah was given the nominal kingship by the nobles and Kashmir, as usual, was divided among the chief nobles. Daulat Chak got the pargana of Deosar, Ghazi Chak the pargana of Wahi, Yusuf Chak and Bahram Chak obtained the parganas in the district Kamraj.[157]

It had become a common practice of the nobles to divide the valley among themselves, but they never stuck peacefully for long to their jagirs. Rather they would immediately start a contest for supremacy for one reason or other. Similarly, this time too, the nobles were discontented at the unequal division of territories. Besides, the religious factor further intensified the discontent and complicated the internal political situation. Kashmir once again drifted to become an arena of fierce strife.[158] The tribal groups, the Chaks, the Magres and the Rainas started their political manipulations. The Chaks, in order to strengthen and consolidate their position joined under Daulat Chak. They made a spirited efforts to sink their differences through matrimonial alliances within their tribe and those of the Magres.[159] The Sultan's Wazir, Idi Raina who was watching these developments with consternation decided to overthrow the Chak faction in 1552 A.D. But he was beguiled by his own followers who rallied to the support of Daulat Chak and Ghazi Chak.[160] Seeing no way of success he fled away from Srinagar but died an accidental death while on his way to Rawalpur.[161] The Chaks got the upper hand in the kingdom and deposed Nazuk Shah and placed their own nominee Ibrahim Shah on the throne of Kashmir in 1552 A.D. Daulat Chak became his Wazir.[162]

Daulat Chak as Wazir

The rise of Daulat Chak marks the beginning of the Chaks ascendancy in Kashmir. Like Kaji Chak, he too exercised all the administrative powers himself and the Sultan was reduced to the position of a mere figure head on the throne.

To begin with Daulat Chak treated the men of his rival faction with kindness. Het set free Sayyid Ibrahim and Hussain Magre, who were imprisoned for joining their hands with Idi Raina.[163]

Unlikely Kaji Chak, Daulat Chak was singularly free from religious prejudices. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* writing about his views, states that 'Daulat Chak lifted ban on all religious sects and issued an order that all are free to profess any religion and no one would molest another in matter of religion."[164] After this general proclamation of religious toleration as a state policy, Daulat Chak turned his attention to the service of Shi-ism. The first work which he did in this connection was, that he brought the bier of Shaikh Daniyal, son of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi, to the city of Srinagar and constructed a beautiful mausoleum over it. He also built an elegant hospice for Shams-ud-Din Iraqi and endowed it with land for the maintenance of his descendants and servants working in it.[165] He also made Baba Hasan in charge of the trust for the maintenance of mausoleum of his father, whose dead body had been lately brought to Srinagar city. Further, he revived the religious orders (Silsilahs) of Sayyid Ali Hamadani and Shams-ud-Din Iraqi and subsequently ordered the name of twelve Imams[166] to be included in the Friday sermons.[167] He imposed the poll tax on the Brahmins and considered it to be an essential religious duty for a Muslim ruler,[168] on the whole, he did a lot of service to Shi-ite faith to which he belonged, without intentionally hurting the sentiments of other religious groups.

Invasion of Ladakh

An important event during the Wizarat of Daulat Chak was an expedition sent against the Ladakhis under Ibrahim Chak

and Haidar Chak, son of Ghazi Chak. The reason was not the imperial expansion of the kingdom; it was in the nature of a punitive expedition. It also happened that some Ladakhis had driven away stealthily the flocks of sheep from the two parganas of Khawa and Barah, which were in the jagir of. Habib Chak. Consequently, a military contingent fought in garrisons killing their commander and occupying a number of their forts. The Ladakhis were forced to sue for peace and submitted. Accordingly, they sent three thousand horses, five hundred pieces of pattu (heavy winter cloth made of sheeps wool), one hundred sheep and thirty yaks in token of peace. The Kashmiris also took away some Kashghari horses which they had captured during the siege.[169]

Fall of Daulat Chak

In the year 1554 A.D. hostility began between Daulat Chak and Ghazi Chak and several trifling skirmishes took place between the two opposite groups for two months till peace was concluded at the intervention of a husbandman.[170] It was in the nature of a truce only for a struggle for power had begun and Ghazi Chak had constant eye on the Wizarat.[171] Unfortunately, the year 1554 marked the darkest period in the career of Daulat Chak, when a natural calamity fell upon the people and undermined his influence. The great earthquake which occurred in this year took a heavy tool of human life and property with the attendant suffering for the survivors.[172]

It was at this juncture, Daulat Chak committed a blunder which was enough to bring his downfall. He espoused Ghazi Chak's mother, widow of Kaji Chak. The action was greatly resented by Ghazi Chak and his brother Husain Chak and both of them resolved to bring about his ruin.[173] Ghazi Chak had his opportunity when in October 1554 A.D. Daulat Chak had gone in a boat for shooting on Dal Lake. Ghazi Chak with a small contingent made a sudden attack on his troops at Hussainabad and killed many of them, while some had a narrow escape.[174] Hearing this, Daulat Chak tried to escape but was pursued by Ghazi Chak, captured and thrown into

prison. After two days, his eyes were gouged out by drawing the needle across them.[175]

Many stories of bravery and valour are associated with Daulat Chak. Though, powerful, strong and descendant of a martial tribe, yet many events of his bravery have been highly exaggerated by the Persian chroniclers.[176] It is true that besides a good soldier and a fine shot, Daulat Chak was fairly tolerant and free from religious prejudice but he lacked the qualities of a far-sighted statesman. As an administrator, Daulat Chak does not impress, rather he even failed to console people when they were overtaken by natural calamity. However, his greatest achievement was that he had the position of the Chak recognised as a potential factor in Kashmir politics though the ground for which was already prepared by Kaji Chak earlier.

End of Shahmiri Dynasty

With the fall of Daulat Chak, Ghazi Chak came to occupy the chair of Wizarat. At this time, Ismail Shah was in possession of the nominal royal authority as the Sultan. But he soon died, and Ghazi Chak raised his own nephew Habib on the throne in 1554 A.D. (962 A.H.).[177] Ghazi Chak had already carved out a significant position among the nobles. Under Sultan Habib,[178] he entirely undermined the influence of other leading tribes, viz. the Magres and the Rainas. And a time came when he realized that there would be no murmur, if he grabbed the royal power. So he dramatize the transfer of royal authority in an open darbar.

In 1554 A.D.[179] his brother Ali Chak, boldly took off the crown from the head of Sultan Habib and placed it on the head of Ghazi Chak with the announcement that Habib Shah was incompetent and ill-mannered. The courtiers hailed Ghazi Chak as their king. Surprisingly enough, no one came forward to grumble over the passing of the throne and the crown from one dynasty to another. In fact, all welcomed this peaceful palace revolution.

Of the Shahmiris rule in Kashmir, there was, with a few exceptions the usual succession of weak rulers and constant struggle between the royal factions and the territorial magnates.

Its rulers had turned effete, lacking essential qualities of initiative and capacity for administration. It was only out of cupidity or in difference of the Chaks that they were allowed to stick to the king's chair and play the role of supernumerary kings under the Chaks domination. Otherwise, as a matter of fact, they should have since long been dispelled to make room for kings of vigour and virility. To sum up the account of the rise of the Chaks in Kashmir, it is sufficient to say that they staggered, struggled, and passed through many vicissitudes till they came to occupy the throne and founded their dynasty.

REFERENCES

1. Shahmir was a Khasa by birth and descended from the chiefs of Panchagahvara. The names of his father and grandfather are mentioned as Quru Shah and Tahir Ali respectively (Dr. Zutshi, p. 7). Shahmir came to Kashmir in 1313 along with his tribe in search of fortune and employment. King Suhadeva (1301-1320 A.D.), who was the then ruler admitted him to the royal service (*B.S.*, f.10a, H.M., f. 77b). Shahmir played a considerably important role, when Kashmir was invaded by a Mongol invader Dulcha, who ravaged Kashmir and left the Kashmiri's helpless. Suhadeva also fled into hiding. Shahmir, no doubt, had an eye on the throne, but he only consoled the people at that time and let Rinchana, a Ladakhi to usurp the throne. Rinchana, eventually accepted Islam through intimacy and association with Shahmir whom he appointed his Prime Minister (Dr. Zutshi, p. 8). Rinchana (1320-23 A.D.) was succeeded by Udayanadeva, a coward king. During the fifteen years of his reign (1323-1339 A.D.), Kota Devi, whom he married, was the virtual ruler of the kingdom. The king died in February 1339 A.D. and Kota Rani apprehensive of Shahmir's growing power, declared herself the sovereign after shifting to the fort of Andarkot. But Shahmir contrived the murder of her Prime Minister through an act of treachery, and imprisoned Kota Rani along with her sons Haidar and Jatta. Kota Rani, the last symbol of Hindu rule died in 1339 A.D. and Shahmir ascended throne (Mohibbul Hasan, pp. 43-44).
2. See Mohibbul Hasan (*Kashmir under the Sultans*), p. 46 and Dr. Parmu (*History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*), pp. 86-88.
3. The word "Chak" has been pronounced and written differently. The common Kashmiri pronunciation is 'Tsak'. The Persian chroniclers Haider Malik and the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* write 'Chak'. Lawrence, has written both 'Chak' and 'Tsak' in his

book (p. 309). The Sanskrit chronicler Srivara calls them 'Chakra' (pp. 102 and 292). Another Sanskrit chronicler Suka mentioned them as 'Chakresha' and Chakrapati. Firishta and Newal have used 'Chuk' and 'Chak' for them (p. 28, 2n, 187 and p. 318 n. 48, p. 130). In fact, the spelling of the name varies according to its pronunciation (I have used the common spelling in this thesis).

4. For details of Magres see p. 203 infra.
5. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, the eighth Sultan of the Shahmiri dynasty was the greatest. The seven other were Shams-ud-Din (1339-1342 A.D.), Jamshed (1342-44), Ali Sher (1344-55), Shibab-ud-Din (1355-1373), Qutub-ub-Din (1373-89), Sikandar (1389-1413) and Ali Shah (1413-1419 A.D.). It was during the long reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin that peace, security and prosperity was restored. Literature, arts and crafts, music and dance flourished, agriculture was promoted, Hindus and Muslims lived in harmony. In fact the fame of the Shahmir dynasty reached its zenith in his time.
6. The later Shahmir rulers, Haidar Shah, Hasan Shah, Muhammad Shah and Fateh Shah inaugurated an age of gangsterism. Lacking in diplomacy and administrative talents, the state of the country reverted with short interludes of stability, to that which had existed before the foundation of Sultanate. The result was a struggle between powerful but mutually jealous groups for political supremacy (Sufi, I, p. 187 sqq.).
7. See chapter IV, p. 138.
8. Vigne, II, p. 301.
9. Among the later historians Azam (p. 141) and Hasan (p. 196) mention about the origin of the Chaks that, 'they were the descendants of a big giant who had fallen in love with a lady somewhere in Dardistan (Dardistan include in it all the countries lying between the Hindukush and Kagham, Lat. 37°N and Long. 73°E to Lat. 35°N-L 74°, 30°E, Dards are a race inhabiting the mountain country of Shinakai, Chilas, Astor, Gilgit, Duryl, Hunza, Nagyre, Chitral and Kaffiristan—Dards have no name in common but call each Dard tribe that inhabit a different valley by different name, Dr. Leitner, p. 45) which matured in coalition. With the passage of time the lady turned enceinte. At the time of delivery while the lady died the baby survived to become future Lashkar Chak, the descendant of whom was Langar Chak, who entered Kashmir during Suhdev's rule (1320-1323A.D.). Dr. Parmu (p. 246) also mentions this myth.
10. Dr. Parmu, p. 246.
11. Ibid.
12. The Chak tribe came to Kashmir in the beginning of the fourteenth century under their leader Langar Chak. See details of Langar Chak in the following pages.
13. *R.T.*, II, 2423-2425, 2525, 2526, 2595, 2597.

14. Like Dr. Parmu, Sufi I (p. 217) has tried to connect them with the Marathas and he writes that Chaks bears the strange resemblance to that of the Marathas.
15. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 46.
16. Tragam is in Kamraj, about 48 Km. (30 miles). away from Baramulla. We should not confuse it with Trigam (Ancient Trigami) which is another village situated at the old junction of the river Jehlum and the Sind (Stein, *R.T.*, Vol. II, p. 329). Tragam finally became the stronghold of the Chaks. Vigne on his visit to this place found massive ruins of Chaks there (Vigne Vol. II, p. 301). See, for details Stein, II, p. 479, IV, 323.
17. *B S.*, ff. 10a-b. Narayan Koul (p. 59) and the author of Majmul Tawarikh (ff. 144a) also mentions accordingly but writes Sankar Chak for Langar Chak.
18. *B.S.*, f. 67b.
19. Barsal is not traceable in any history or map of Dardistan.
20. H.M., f. 77b. Hasan (p. 196) also writes the advent of the Chaks from Barsal.
21. Jonaraja, p. 14-15.
22. Srikanth Koul, p. 23, n. 6.
23. Jonaraja, pp. 14-15.
24. Leitner, p. 45.
25. Details are not available to state clearly why the Dard tribe was named as the 'Tsaks' in Kashmir ? Possibly the tribe had moved to different places for settlement, it was nicknamed in Kashmir. 'Tsaker, (Tsaker, is a revolving part of 'charkka' and in Kashmir it is used as proverb for the person who moves from one place to another) which later became 'Tsak'. 'Chaks' are still known as 'Tsaks' in Kashmir.
26. *B.S.*, f. 67 b.
27. Ibid. See also Hasan, p. 197.
28. Haidar Malik (f. 77a) and the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* (f. 107a) writing about the physical strength of Shams Chak who survived during the early reign of Mohammad Shah and Fateh Shah says, "that when he was attacked in a cell by the armed men of his opponent party, though one leg in chains, still he killed a number of them with his pocket knife before he fell under the relentless blows of his assailants. Similarly, Maulvi Hasan portrays the physique of the Chaks distinctly when he says, that Mighty stature, bravery and fighting calibre were the inborn qualities of the Chaks. My father often said of a Tragami Chak, who was a bodyguard of Azam Khan, the Pathan governor of Kashmir. With a Tatar cap on head, Uzbeg shoes on feet, fully armed, he walked beside the elephant (the governor was riding) and his head touched the hoisedah (seat on elephant), *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, (MS.), p. 340.

    There are a number of such events about the Chaks bravery

and for this they have been called the descendants of a big giant by the later historians.

29. According to Firishta (p. 649), Sultan Shahmir (1339-42 A.D.), recruited the Chaks in his army. This is wrong, as we do not have any such information in the local contempotary sources. Further, the Chaks by the time of Shahmir's accession were yet turbulent and ferocious and considered outsiders. To trust in their loyalty was out of the question for the Sultan (*B.S.*, f. 52b). Following Firishta, Nizam-ud-Din (*Tabaqat.*, III, 426, M.S.), also writes the induction of Chaks into the nobility by Shahmir.
30. Srivara, p. 103.
31. Ibid., *B.S.*, f. 52b.
32. *B S.*, f. 52b.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. *B.S.*, ff. 52b-53a
36. Ibid., Hasan, p 175. Haidar Malik does not mention this event.
37. *B.S.*, ff. 52b-53a, Hasan, p. 175. Mohibbul Hasan (p. 74) wrongly writes that the rising was organised only against carvee system. The system has not been imposed on the Chaks. It was only their apprehension that they may be put on the forced labour in case of Sultan taking his residence in their vicinity.
38. *B.S.*, f. 53a
39 This was the name for Kishanganga valley from below Shardi as far as Karna (Stein, II, p. 288).
40. *B.S.*, f. 53a, Hasan p. 175.
41. *B.S.*, f. 53a.
42. Ibid., Srivara, p. 102. Hasan writes Hareb, which is also near Kwarin, in Karna (p. 175).
Dr. Parmu wrongly writes that Chaks were settled at Tragam and Kopwara by the Sultan, Zain-ul-Abidin, after crushing their marauding habits. In course of time the two branches became known as Kapwari and Tragami Chaks (p. 248).
43. *B.S.*, f. 53a.
44. Sirivara, p. 102.
45. *B.S.*, f. 53n., see also Hasan, p. 175.
46. *B.S.*, f. 68a; Hasan, p. 197.
47. *B.S.* f. 68a.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. *B.S.*, f. 68b.
51. *B.S.*, f. 68b; H. M., f. 104a. Ramalana is not traceable anywhere. Mohibbul Hasan takes it to be a village near Srinagar (p. III).
52. The author of *B.S.*, p. 69 gives a detailed account of this battle in verses.
53. H. M., f. 105a; Suka, p. 347.

54. *B.S.*, f. 71a; H.M., ff. 106a; Newall (J.A.S.B. XXIII, 1854), p. 417.
55. *B.S.*, 71a; H.M., f. 106a. Hasan writes that Kaji Chak fought very bravely in this battle. He received fifty scores and lost one ear while fighting (p. 202).
56. *B.S.*, f. 71a; H.M., f. 106a.
57. *B.S.*, f. 75b; H.M., f. 107a.
58. *B.S.*, f. 75b.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid., H.M., f. 107a; Newall, p. 418. According to Hasan, Shams Chak during his Wizarat got a Khanqah constructed, known as "Khanqah-i-Shamshi for the devotees of a Sufi Babi Ismail. Many villages were donated for the maintenance of the Khanqah. Shaikh Hamza Makhdum is said to have passed twenty years of meditation in this khanqah. The Langar khana which was set up by Shams Chak continued upto the Afghan rule (1753-1819) in Kashmir (MS. I, p. 348).
61. *B.S.*, f. 75 b; H.M., f. 107a.
62. For details of Shams Iraqi and his teachings see p. 296, infra; *T.R.*, p 436; *Tuhfat-ul-Abbab* p. 899. According to Birbal, Kaji Chak was highly honoured by Shams Iraqi who prayed for his better future and put his own cap on his head, forecasting about his royal future (ff. 70a-b).
63. H.M., f. 107a; B.S., f. 75b.
64. *B.S.*, f. 75b. After his conversion, Musa Raina extended his full cooperation and gave out money to Shams-ud-Din Iraqi, for propagating Nurbakshiya faith; *Tahfat-ul-Ahbab*, p. 27.
65. Ibid.
66. *B.S.*, f. 81a. Dr. Parmu (p. 99) wrongly writes that Kaji Chak was also in league with Ibrahim Magre.
67. *B.S.*, f. 81a. According to Haidar Malik, Musa Raina was killed by a soldier while fleeing from Srinagar (f. 80b).
68. *B.S.*, f. 82b. It is wrongly stated by Rodgers (J.A.S.B., LIV, 1855, p. III) that Kaji Chak was killed by Ibrahim Magre.
69. *B.S.*, f. 82b.
70. *B.S.*, f. 86a. Haidar Malik writes that Kaji Chak was related to the mother of Habib (f. 110a).
71. H.M., f. 110a; *B.S.*, f. 86a.
72. *B.S.*, f. 86a; Newall (J. A.S.B., 1854) p. 418.
73. *B.S.*, f. 86a; H.M., f. 110a. Suka mentions that the estate of Siddha country was given to Shankar Raina, Kaji Chak was given the authority over the arsenal and Jahangir Padre was made the Wazir (p. 347).
74. Suka, p. 347; *B.S.*, f. 86a; H.M., f. 110a.
75. *B.S.*, f. 86a; H.M., f. 110a.

76. Danaor, a village lies in the N.E. of Rajauri, Stein Map (J.A.S.B., 1, 1889).
77. The village Harshin is about sixteen Km. S.W. of Shupian.
78. *B.S.*, f. 87a; Hasan, p. 117.
79. H.M., f. 111a; *B.S.*, f. 87a.
80. As in Persia, the Nurbakshiya faith took increasingly the character of Shi-ite movement under Shah Ismail, the founder of Safavid dynasty (1502-1736), at Kashmir, the Nurbakshiyas also declared themselves as Shias with the passage of the time (Mohibbul Hasan, Appendix-A).
81. Firishta, p. 487.
82. *B.S.*, f. 87b; H.M., f. 111a; Suka, p. 352.
83. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 893; *B.S.*, f. 88b.
84. *B.S.*, f. 88b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 693.
85. *B.S.*, f. 90a.
86. *B.S.*, f. 90a; H.M., f. 112a.
87. *B.S.*, f. 90b; H.M., f. 112a.
88. *B.S.*, f. 90b; H.M., f. 112a; Suka, p. 352.
89. *B.S.*, f. 90b; H.M., f. 112a, Nizam-ud-Din (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 694), wrongly writes that masud Chak was made pri·oner in this battle.
90. *B.S.*, f. 91a.
91. Ibid.
92. Suka, p. 357.
93. *B.S.*, f. 93b; H.M., f. 113a; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 694.
94. *B.S.*, f. 93b; Firishta, p. 490.
95. H.M., f. 113a; Suka, p. 361.
96. Suka, p. 361, H.M., f. 111a.
97. *B.S.*, f. 92b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 695. About three and half Km. S.W. of Sar is village Ladu. It has hot been marked on the survey map of Stein, II, p. 459.
98. *B.S*, f. 92b.
99. Firishta, p. 491., *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 697.
100. Pargana. Bankil or Bangal is closely adjacent to Pattan situated on the shore of the Pambasar marsh cire, 74⁰-37' long. 34⁰-10' Lat. (Stein., II, p. 481).
101. The author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, has given a detailed history of this battle (ff. 194a-b).
102. *B.S.*, f. 95b; Suka, p.367. The division is mentioned with little variation in *Tabaqat.*, III. p. 699.
103. Suka, p. 367., *Tabaqat.*, III, p 699; Firishta, p. 493,
104. *B.S.* f. 96; H.M., f. 166a.
105. *B.S.*, f. 96a., H.M., f. 166b.
106. Athwajan is mentioned by Stein (II, p. 406) as Atavath or Atwat, a small village near [illegible] Marg.
107. *B.S.*, f. 97a; Suka, f. 371. Haidar Malik (f. 166a) writes that Turks

were defeated and returned without concluding peace. See also Firishta, p. 493., Newall, p. 421.

108. *B.S.*, f. 97b., Suka (p. 374) writes that Kaji Chak was not given any share and he fled out of the country.

109. For the details Kashgharis invasion see *T.R.*, p. 417; *B.S.*, f. 102a; H.M., f. 116a; Suka p. 372.

110. *B.S.*, f. 102b; H.M., ff. 118a-b; *A.N.*, III, p. 404.

111. *B.S.*, f. 102; H.M., ff. 118a-b; Suka, p. 375.

112. *B.S.*, f. 103a; Hasan. p. 216. Haidar Malik does not mentions the name of any king during these quick succession of various potentates till the rise of the Chaks (ff. 118a-b). The account given by Firishta and in *Tabaqat* is also very confusing and lack chronological order.

113. *B.S.*, f. 103b; H.M., f. 118b.

114. *B.S.*, f. 103b. Haidar Malik, differs here with other chronicles and write that Regi Chak went to bring force from the Raja of Jammu (f. 118b).

115. Gasu is situated in the centre of Uttar near the confluence of the Kamil river and the stream coming from Lolan (Stein, II, p. 485).

116. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, (pp. 104-105) gives a detailed account of the battle. Haidar Malik (ff. 119a-b), wrongly writes that Kaji Chak joined hands with Regi Chak in order to overthrow the Magres.

117. *B.S.*, f. 107a

118. *Fikh-i-Ahwal*, was a treatise on law in Arabic written by the founder of Nurbakshiya faith, Muhammad-b-Abdullah (*T.R.*, pp. 434 sqq.). At Kashmir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi wrote *Fiqqh-i-Ahwal* for those Kashmiris who accepted Nurbakshiya faith. According to Mirza Haidar, *Fiqh-i-Ahwal*, does not conform to the teachings of any of the sects whether Sunni-or Shia. He introduced many impious practices and infidels beliefs and gave the heretical sect the name of Nurbakshiya (*T.R.*, p. 435).

119. *T R.*, p. 435.

120. H.M., (f. 119b) writes Ismail Shah son-in-law of Kaji Chak. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* says Ibrahim Shah son-in-law of Kaji Chak (f. 107).

121. H.M., f. 119b.

122. Ibid., *T.R.*, p. 482.

123. *T.R*, P. 482. Abul Fazl (A.N., II, p. 359) call him Jujak. Mirza Haidar does not accept Baba Chuchak as a superior officer of Kamran, rather, he calls him a weak-minded and incapable general. Baba Chuchak was a prominent officer of Kamran. In 1543, he was sent to Shah Hussain Gurghan for asking the hand of Shah's daughter on Kamran's behalf. (Tarikh-i-Masumi, p. 181). During the struggle between Kamran and Humayun that followed, the latter returned from Persia to Afghanistan. Baba

Chuchak was one of the most consistent supporters of Kamran, (cf. Bayazid, Tazkira-Humayun-w-Akkbar, Bib., Ind. 133; *A.N.*, 2/277-325) See *Medieval Indian Quarterly*, iv, 1961, pp. 60-61, n.l.

124. *T.R.*, p. 482; *A.N.*, I, p. 360.

125. *A.N.*, I, p. 360; *B.S.*, f. 107a; *T.R.*, p. 482, H.M., f. 120a; Suka p. 359.

126. *B.S.*, 107a; H.M., f. 120b; *T.R.*, p. 485 (Appendix, A. p. 484); *A.N.*, pp. 403; *A.A.*, p. 503.

127. *B.S.*, f. 107b; Hasan, p. 219; Sayyid Ali, p. 39.

128. Abul Fazl (A.N., I, p. 402-3, n-5.) writes that "at that time a person called Nazuk Shah, having a name that was no name, was reputed sovereign. Nazuk is also called Nadir by some historians. Abul Fazl puns on the word "*Nazuk*" which means slight or slender and calls it an *ism-i-bimusamma* (like the anties of ulyses).

129. *B S.*, f. 107b; *T.R.*, p. 485.

130. *B.S.*, f. 108a; Sayyid Ali, p. 39; M. Tawarikh, p. 87.

131. Abul Fazl mentions in (*A.N.*, p. 403) that Kaji Chak, in order to win the favour of Sher Shah Suri presented him the sister of Sultan Ismail, the son of Muhammad Shah. Maulvi Hasan says, that Kaji Chak offered to Sher Shah the daughter of his sister, who was the legitimate daughter of Muhammad Shah (p. 219).

132. *B.S.*, f. 108b. "Hirapura, the ancient Surapur is often referred to as the entrance station for those reaching Kashmir from Rajauri. Its site can be still traced at the place known as illahi-Darwaza (the gate of God at a short distance above the village). This was also a watch-station or Drang."

133. *T.R.*, p. 485; *B,S.*, f. 108b. The fort of Andarkul has been mentioned as Inderkot by Abul Fazl (A.N., I, p. 403).

134. *T.R.*, p. 485; *Tabaqat.*, III, 709.

135. *B.S*, f. 108b; *T.R.*, p.485.

136. *T.R.*, p. 486; *A.N.*, I, p. 403; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 709.

137. *B.S.*, f. 109a; H.M., f. 121a; Sayyid Ali, p. 39.

138. *B S.*, f. 109a; Hasan, p. 209.

139. The author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* gives the detailed account of religious discussions, which ensued between Mirza Haidar and Regi Chak at Zalidgarh (ff. 109 a-b).

140. *B.S.*, ff. 109a-b; Hasan, p. 209.

141. *B.S.*, f. 111a.

142. Firishta, p. 409, *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 409.

143. H.M., f. 121b; Newall (J.A.S.B., 1854) p. 422; *B.S.*, f. 111a Dr. Parmu (p. 256) wrongly write 1546, the date of Kaji Chaks death.

144. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 710; Newall (J.A.S.B. 1854) p. 423. Nizam-ud-Din wrongly states that Ghazi Chak, son of Kaji Chak was killed. (*Tabaqat.*, III, 710). Possibly he confuses Ghazi with Bairam,

Regi's son. The Persian chroniclers of Kashmir do not refer to Regi Chak's death.

145. *B.S.*, ff. 112a-b; H.M., pp. 122-23; Azam; p. 131; *M. Tawarikh*, p. 81.

146. *T.R.*, p. 436.

147. Danial or the ancient fort Danagal on the lower Vitasta (Jehlum) *R.T.*, (I, 180n, V. 397).

148. *T.R.*, p. 436; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 712.

149. Firishta, p. 501; Elliot and Dowson (Tarikh-i-Daudi; p. 496) writes that Haibat Khan was one of the trusted chiefs of Sher Shah and the governor of the Punjab and Multan in his time.

150. Elliot and Dowson, p. 496; Firishta, p. 502; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 713; *B.S.*, ff. 117. Hasan (p. 227) mentions the same event after the death of Mirza Haidar. It is mentioned in Tarikh-i-Daudi that the Chaks who submitted before Mirza Haidar told him that Azam Humayun was coming with a body of Afghans for the purpose of seizing Kashmir and had reached the Pargana of Banihal. Idi Raina, ordered to attack the Niazis with a force of Kashmiris. Both sides prepared for action and a fierce contest took place. Bibi Rafia, the wife of Azam Humayun fought like a man and smote Lali Chak, with her sword. The Kashmiris were very numerous and were victorious over the discomfited Afghans. Azam Humayun, Said Khan and Bibi Rafia were killed in this battle and Mirza Haidar sent the heads of the Afghans through the hands of Yaqub Mir to Islam Shah who was in the village of Ban, near Chinab, and w o well pleased at the termination of the Niazi rebellion marched back howewards. But Firishta (p. 502) and Nizam-ud-Din (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 714) do not mention the event. They agreed upon that after Haibat Khan (Azam Humayun) made for peace with Mirza Haidar he returned to the village Bir, which is a dependency of the territory of Jammu. The account here given in the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* is incorrect because swift movement from Rajauri to Banihal, which is very far away and full of steep routes, is impossible and Ghazi Chak, who was sorely against Haidar, had never submitted before Mirza Haidar and induced him against Mirza Humayun, as mentioned in *Tarikh-i-Daudi.*

151. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 497; Firishta, 502; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 714.

152. A village and fort in Poonch on the right bank of Mandel stream in Lat. 33°-38', Long. 74°-6'.

153. *B.S.*, f. 114a-115a; H.M., ff. 123a-124a.

154. Khampur is situated 16 Km. south of Srinagar on the high road leading to Pir Panjal Pass. Stein writes that Kanikapura of the Persian chronicler is Kansipor near Baramulla. General Cunninghams identification of Kanikapura with Kampor, on the road from Srinagar to Suipyan, is untenable. The place is really

called "Khampor". (Stein, p. 482. n. 42).

155. There is difference of opinion among historians about the death of Mirza Haidar. But all agree that he died in a campaign against Kashmiris who had risen in revolt.

156. H.M., f. 124a; *A.N.*, II, p. 406; Hasan, p. 266.

157. Firishta, p. 503; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 709.

158. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 709.

159. Ibid., Rodgers (J.A.S.B. 1885), p. 122.

160. *B.S.*, f. 118b; H.M., p. 228; Newall (J.A.S.B. 1854) p 424.

161. H.M., f. 126b; Rodgers (J.A S.B. 1885), p. 123; *Tabaqat.*, III., p. 722.

162. *B.S.*, f. 119a; *Tabaqat.*, p. 723.

163. *B.S.*, f. 121a.

164. Ibid.

165. *B S.*, pp. 121-22.

166. The leading or "Orthodox" sect of the Shias received twelve imamyahs as the rightful Khalifas.. They are the descendants of Ali. For details see *Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 572-584.

167. *B.S.*, pp. 121, 122.

168. Suka (p. 382) blamed Daulat Chak for religious discrimination and cites an event of discrimination in support of his verdict. He writes that "he imposed taxes on Brahmins and when a saint Abhimaniya entreated him to rescind the orders and exempt Brahmins from tax (Suka here means Jaziya), he replied "listen attentively, O' great saint, to what I saw now bestow on you the village of Tulamula (the ancient Tirtha of Tulamula is in the midst of wide water, logged tract of Sud Delta now the place is known as Tulamula, situated 70°-48' long., 34°-13' lat. see Stein, p. 488) but how can I, who am a Melechha (Muslim) cease by your order to levy tax from Brahmans.'' All this indicates that Daulat Chak imposed this tax too.

169 *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 728. Firishta, p. 505-506; Rodgers (J.A.S.B. 1885), p. 124.

170. Firishta, p. 506; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 723.

171. H.M., pp. 126-127; Suka, p. 381.

172. H.M., f. 127b.

173. Ibid. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* does not refer to the marriage of Daulat Chak with the widow of Kaji Chak. He attribute the political cause, which brought the Daulat Chak's ruin (*B.S.*, f. 122b).

174. H.M., pp. 127-28.

175. *B.S.*, f. 122b. According to Haidar Malik, Daulat Chak was caught by a shephered and presented to Ghazi Chak (pp. 127-128).

176. *B S.*, f. 122b. Haidar Malik relates many eventful stories of Daulat Chak's bravery, in exaggeration. He writes that at Nandi Marg, called Nadan village today, he shout an arrow at a dis-

tance of one Km. Similarly, at Delhi before Sher Shah he caught an elephant from the tail and elephant could not move a single step till his tail was in Daulat Chak's hands. About his gigantic strength he narrates another miraculous event. He writes that at a construction site Daulat Chak stopped a wooden beam measuring two yards in width. and twenty-two (22) yards long, which was being carried up the roof of a house by 22 men, with the help of ropes. It so happened that the ropes suddenly collapsed and the beam came down from the top of the roof. There was a possibility of Daulat Chak coming under it. He with great confidence stopped it, by giving one arm under it and stationed other on the ground. He continued in this posture, holding the beam upon his arm, till it was again lifted with the help of ropes. (H.M., f. 127-b), see also Azam p. 144; Narayan Kaul, ff. 89a-b.

177. Ghazi Shah was related to Habib through his mother.

178. *B.S.*, f. 122-b; H.M. (f. 130-a) wrongly mentions this event to have occurred in 969 A.H. instead of 962 A.H. (1554 A D.). Possibly the error has been committed in the transcription because after a few pages, it is again correctly given.

179. *B.S*, f. 125b; H.M., f 130b. There is difference of opinion obout the period of Sultan Habib's rule and the date of Ghazi Shah's accession to the throne. Both contemporary Persian chroniclers Haidar Malik and the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* agree that Ghazi Shah ruled for nine years and Husain Shah who succeeded him, ascended the throne in 971 A.H. By substracting 9 years period of Ghazi Shah rule from 971 A.H. the actual date of Ghazi Shah's accession comes to 962 A.H., i.e.1554 A.D. Following this date, Suka, a contemporary of the Persian chronicler is also correct when he states "The King Habiba reigned for one month when Guja Khan (Ghazi Khan) out of cupidity usurped the throne (see p. 383). Among the latter sources, Azam, p. 146; Hasan, p. 233; Newall, p. 425; *Wajiz-ul-Twarikh*; p. 23; *Majmul-Twarikh*, p. 89; *Nawadar-ul-Akbar*; p. 77; *Nigaristan*; p. 179 and *Guldasta*, p. 127, support this date. Abul Fazl does *not mention* in *Akbar Nama* (p. 189) the name of Habib Shah at all. Firishta (p. 499) and Nizam-ud-Din are the only two historians which differ from the above sources. According to these historians, Habib Shah ruled for five years and Ghazi Shah ascended the throne in 1561 A.D. Professor Mohibbul Hasan (p. 151) has wrongly followed these historians. The statements of these historians are wrong so far, no coin of Habib Shah has been found, and even Rodgers writes, "I have never seen the coin of any metal with Habib's name, yet he reigned five years". The date which he fixes for Habib's rule and Ghazi Shah's accession, is based on Firishta and Nizam-ud-Din account. As he himself

frankly admits: "In my text I am indebted to Firishta," see Rodgers (J.A.S.B., 1885).

Keeping the above discussion in view, it can conveniently be said that Ghazi Shah ascended the throne in 1554 A.D. after ousting Habib Shah, who had hardly passed a brief period of one or two months on the throne.

2

Period of Consolidation

(1554-1578 A.D.)

After a long and incessant struggle, the Chak dynasty was founded in Kashmir in 1554, by coup d'etate from within the country. For about 84 years, the country's affairs had been in a decadent state owing to civil wars among various political groups for the throne.[1] The economy of the country had deteriorated and administration was paralysed. People were restless and tired of civil strife and anarchy. Such was the state of affairs when the Chaks took over the reign of Kashmir and made the Shah Mirs quit the political stage after a long rule of about 215 years.

Gifted with indefatigable strength and indomitable will, the first three Chak potentates, Ghazi Shah, Husain Shah and Ali Shah, gave a firm footing to their dynasty by consolidating the gains of their triumph. Their rule afforded a gleam of sunshine in Kashmir after a long period of turmoil.

Ghazi Shah Chak (1554-63)

The first man to wield the royal sceptre, among the Chaks, was Ghazi Chak, who ascended the throne of Kashmir under

the title of 'Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Ghazi Shah,.[2] He was the posthumous son of Husain Chak, brother of Kaji Chak, a leading noble under the later Shahmiri rulers.[3] Some scholars have doubted the paternity of Ghazi Shah and persisted in believing him to be the son of Kaji Chak, which is not based on facts.[4] In fact, Kaji Chak swayed either by infatuation or by political considerations, espoused the enceinte widow of his deceased brother, Husain Chak, against the Islamic Sunna, and it was only two months after the marriage that Ghazi Shah was born.[5] The accidental association of Ghazi Shah with Kaji Chak was a boon for the former and gave him both political and social status in his clan. When Shankar Chak (the legitimate son of Kaji Chak) attempted to question Ghazi Shah's paternity, the latter's predominance in the clan was so assured that the attempt failed despite the common knowledge of Ghazi's real paternity.[6]

Early Conquests

During the reigns of weak rulers of the Shahmiri dynasty, many of the tributary states in the outer hills had broken away from the Sultanate. Ghazi Shah not only reconquered them but added many new territories to his kingdom. He annexed the small principalities of Buniar[7], Vankil (near Pakhli) and Pakhli.[8] Next he was able to subjugate the petty states of Ladakh, Askardo, Gilgit and Kishtwar and the Rajas of these states were forced to pay tribute regularly.[9] He also laid a successful campaign against Kamal Khan, the ruler of the Gakkhar territory. Kamal Khan accepted the paramountcy of Ghazi Shah and gave out his daughter to him in marriage.[10] It seems that the hill states of Poonch (ancient Parnotsa) and Rajauri (ancient Rajapuri) were not annexed but the local chiefs of these states acknowledged his suzerainty. The smaller hill state of Naushehra, situated to the immediate south of Rajauri, was already incorporated into the kingdom of Kashmir.[11] In order to ensure good and efficient administration of the newly annexed territories, Ghazi Shah appointed intelligent and experienced governors.[12] Thus, the main territory over which Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70) held his sway, was successfully recovered and retained by Ghazi Shah.

Suppression of Internal Rebellion

A group of recalcitrant elements led by Nusrat Chak, Yusuf Chak, son of Regi Chak, and Ghazi Shah's own brother Shankar Chak, who had earlier disturbed the relations between Ghazi and his brother Daulat Chak,[13] now in the beginning of the spring of 1556, conspired to put Ghazi Shah and his brother Husain Chak to death. When Ghazi Shah came to know of this treacherous combination, he tactfully handled the conspirators. He called Yusuf Chak and Shankar Chak in his palace where he reprimanded them for their insolent conduct and detained them for the night.[14] Hearing of this Nusrat Chak, who was outside the palace, got infuriated at the attitude of Ghazi Shah and early next morning, with a group of men, destroyed the city bridges and raised a banner of rebellion. Ghazi Shah at once proceeded against them. Crossing over the river with the help of some boats, he defeated the rebels and imprisoned Nusrat Chak. Yusuf Chak, who was already in his custody, was also thrown into prison while Shankar managed to escape to Sopore.[15] Thus again many surviving Chak rebels assembled under Shankar Chak and Bahram Chak at Sopore and again put up a show of resistance. Ghazi Shah at once marched against them and dispersed the rebels at Sopore. Bahram Chak while escaping to Khuyahom[16] was captured and put to death.[17] Ibrahin Chak, another rebel was executed while Shankar Chak escaped unhurt. Order was issued to put Yusuf Chak to epliepsy, but he managed to escape to Hindustan.[18] After suppressing the rebellion, 'Ghazi Shah', writes the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* consolidated the kingdom of Kashmir, exercising complete control with the help of his brothers, Husain Chak and Ali Chak. His fame travelled even beyond the mountains.[19]

Invasion of Shah Abul Maali (1557)

Abul Maali[20] had been a favourite noble of the Mughal Emperor, Humayun who had honoured him by calling him son. After the death of Humayun, he incurred the displeasure of Bairam Khan and that of Akbar, owing to his arrogance, and was imprisoned. But he managed to escape their wrath and

fled to Lahore. Joined by a Kashmiri fugitive, Yusuf Chak, he fled to Gakkhar, but was imprisoned by Kamal Khan the ruler of this territory.[21] By the contrivance of Yusuf Chak, once again he escaped with the chains round his ankles, on the shoulders of the former who brought him to Naushehra.[22] There, he was joined by a number of disgruntled Kashmiri nobles, namely, Fath Khan Chak, Hasubat, the nephew of Daulat Chak, Lohar Dangri, Muhammad Khan Magre, Shams-ul-Mulk and Daulat Chak, a blind man. All these nobles had fled from Kashmir to invoke the help of the Mughal Emperor Humayun against Ghazi Shah, but since he had died before they could approach him, they stationed at Naushehra.[23] When Yusuf Chak reached there with Abul Maali, they decided to use him against Ghazi Shah. Thus, in accordance with an agreement Abul Maali collected a force of 300 Mughals, while 800 Kashmiris rallied Yusuf Chak.[24] By the end of the year 1557, the joint forces marched on Kashmir through the Baramulla pass.[25] Nizam-ud-Din states that Abul Maali enforced such a strict discipline among his troops that no soldier dared to molest the inhabitants of Kashmir on any pretext.[26]

When the invading troops reached Baramulla, Muhammad Haidar and Fath Khan, the guardians of the passes (Nayaks) fled away and the invading forces of Abul Maali encamped at Patan.[27] When Ghazi Shah heard of this, he at once brought out from the prison Ibrahim Khan and Nusrat Chak for his help and marched to intercept the enemy along with his brothers, Husain Chak and Ali Chak.[28]

The two forces met at Hanjivara.[29] After a terrible battle, which lasted for the whole day, the invaders were defeated. But before the battle came to an end, Malik Shams Raina, son of a Kashmiri noble Abdi Raina, seeing Abul Maali falling into the hands of Ghazi, at once brought him out from the battle-field and despatched him away escorted by a contingent of the Mughal soldiers.[30] He himself continued to resist, in spite of severe injuries on his body, and then escaped. He was pursued and captured from a jungle and, although his daughter was married to Ghazi's son, yet he was not spared and executed for his impertinent behaviour.[31]

There was a heavy loss of life in the battle, but Haidar Malik exaggerates when he says that 4,000 soldiers were killed

and 17000 imprisoned,[32] while we know Abul Maali having been assisted by 300 Mughals and 800 Kashmiris at Naushehra.[33]

After his return to the capital, Ghazi Shah distributed gifts among his soldiers.[34] All the prisoners were beheaded with the exception of Hafiz Mirza Husani, who was an accomplished singer of Emperor Humayun and had memorized the whole Quran.[35] All the Mughal heads were collected and raised into a minaret.[36] In the meantime Ghazi Shah sent Nusrat Chak on a goodwill mission to Akbar. Nusrat was received with honour by Bairam Khan when he came to know about the defeat of Abul Maali.[37]

Revolt of Muhammad Raina (1558)

Muhammad Raina, brother of late Shams Raina, had turned against Ghazi after the execution of his brother.[38] Thus, in order to initiate his brother's revenge he entered into an alliance with many disaffected nobles in 1558 at Zalidgarh (near Amira Kadal).[39] Ghazi Shah, at first, did not pay any heed to their activities, but when the rebels started gaining strength, Ghazi Shah with a force crossed over the river near Deeda Mari Mohalla, where the water was shallow, and attacked the rebels. A terrifying battle took place in which Malik Muhammad Raina and Ghazi Shah fought face to face. Muhammad Raina was poised for a well-deserved success when his forces deserted him at the eleventh hour. Still, he did not lose heart and continued to resist till he fell down fighting in the battlefield.[40] The rebels were dispersed and many of them fled to solicit the help of the Mughal Emperor Akbar.[41]

Invasion of Qara Bahadur (1559-60)

A group of rebels, led by Haji Malik, Lohar Dangar, Yusuf Chak and Fath Chak, who had lately been driven out of Kashmir by Ghazi Shah for their strife and condition, persuaded Emperor Akbar to send a military contingent for their support.[42] Akbar, who already had a keen desire to subjugate Kashmir, decided to avail of this opportunity.[43] He ordered Mirza Qara

Bahadur to launch an invasion against Kashmir.[44] A large body of men was deputed to assist him in this campaign. As Qara Bahadur had been with Mirza Haidar Dughlat (1540-1551) in Kashmir earlier, he was well acquinted with the topography of the region and its complicated routes and passes. So, by rapid march he arrived in Rajauri in the summer season.[45] All the disgruntled fugitives from Kashmir joined Qara Bahadur there. However, Lohar Chak and Fath Chak betrayed him and came to join Ghazi Shah. Nusrat Chak also sent a message of loyalty and faithfulness to Ghazi Shah.[46] These desertions threw Qara Bahadur in a state of indecision and consequently he had to delay the campaign for a period of three months, waiting in the ravines, of Bhimbar, for re-inforcements.[47] The delay at Bhimbar was also due to another reason. The commanders of forces who assisted Qara Bahadur, were men of advance age and therefore lacked the necessary vitality to move swiftly through the difficult passes.[48]

Taking advantage of the enemy's delay, Ghazi Shah quickly barricaded the passes, fortified his position and came out of the capital fully prepared with his brothers and Ibrahim Chak.[49] Ghazi Shah's army included both cavalry and elephants. While descending via Hirapura (entrance station for those reaching Kashmir from Rajauri) he guarded all the important passes including Bahrangala[50] and Tosubul[51] and sent an advance force against the enemy. In order to arouse zeal among his forces, Ghazi Shah promised reward of one ashrafi (gold mohar) for each Mughal head.[52] Thus, after heavy fighting, which lasted for full day, Qara Bahadur was defeated. He fled to the fort of Danoor near Rajauri, leaving the elephants with the Kashmiri forces. From Danoor, Qara Bahadur escaped via Naushehra to Agra.[53]

The battle ended with heavy losses in men and material. Commenting on the Mughal loss, Nizam-ud-Din observes that, "it was so serious that Mughals lost five hundred men and nine elephants."[54] Haidar Malik, on the other hand, states that the Mughal lost 7,000 men in this battle.[55] Haidar Malik's estimate is on the higher side. Nizam-ud-Din's figures seem to be correct. Among the Mughal forces, Kunchak Bahadur displayed conspicuous valour and received serious wounds. He was captured and imprisoned, Ghazi Shah spared his life for his

courage and made him over to a physician but he could not survive.[56]

The reasons of the Mughal discomfiture in this battle were many. Firstly, as Abul Fazl observes, it was not solely the strength of the Kashmiris, that effected this, the beginning of rains and the non-arrival of auxiliary were the principal causes of the defeat.[57] Secondly, the selection of generals, who were lacking in courage and swiftness, for such an exhaustive campaign was unwise. Even Qara Bahadur, who was deputed by Emperor Akbar on account of his previous experience in Kashmir, lacked the essential qualities of a military commander. He failed to enforce strict discipline among his soldiers and secure the co-operation of the Kashmiri nobles, who were waiting for him at Rajauri.[58] Thirdly, the delay of three months at Bhimbar gave a much needed opportunity to Ghazi Shah to fortify the routes and barricade the passes.[59] Lastly, Qara Bahadur was no match to Ghazi Shah in valour, generalship and diplomacy. Ghazi Shah encouraged his soldiers by declaring a reward of one ashrafi (gold coin) for each Mughal head. A class of Dombas,[60] whose occupation was robbery, also fell upon the Mughals and chopped off their heads for the reward of one ashrafi.[61]

The defeat demoralised Emperor Akbar so much that for the next 27 years, despite his overwhelming interest in Kashmir, he dared not send any expedition.[62]

After this glorious victory, Ghazi Shah distributed the promised reward at the capital and constructed a bigger minaret of the heads of his enemy.[63] Suka has paid glowing tributes to Ghazi Shah for this decisive victory which considerably raised his prestige.[64]

Revolt of Nobles

In the year 1560-61 again, some nobles revolted under the leadership of Fath Chak and Lohar Dangri. Ghazi Shah promptly despatched his brother Husain Chak in pursuit of them. The rebels getting this information dispersed, fleeing to various places. Meanwhile the winter season had set in and, as a result, many of the rebels perished in the snow, while some escaped to Kishtwar.[65] Husain Chak hunted them in their

strongholds and the rebels seeing no way out made overture for peace with Husain Chak. The latter entreated forgiveness on their behalf before Ghazi Shah, who pardoned them and granted them jagirs.[66]

Expedition against Ladakh (1562)

The ruler of Ladakh stopped paying tribute to Ghazi Shah. Therefore, in the year 1562, Ghazi Shah proceeded to *Lar*[67] and deputed from there his son prince Ahmed Khan with Fath Chak and other amirs to punish him. Fath Chak with the permission of prince Ahmed went ahead and raided Ladakh. The Ladakhis, unwilling to offer resistance, submitted to Fath Chak and sent much tribute.[68] Getting jealous of Fath Chak's exploits, prince Ahmed decided to emulate him by invading Ladakh for the second time. Despite the former's advice to the contrary, prince Ahmed Khan invaded Ladakh with only 500 men.[69] Seeing him numerically weak, the Ladakhis encountered him. Unable to withstand their onslaughts, prince Ahmed Khan fled to Fath Chak. The Ladakhis pursued the Kashmiris and when Fath Chak tried to rally the demoralised Kashmiri force against the enemy, he was captured and slain while Prince Ahmed was constrained to return with disgrace.[70] Hearing all this Ghazi Shah got exceedingly infuriated and remonstrated with his son and disinherited him.[71]

Abdication of Ghazi Shah (1563)

In the year 1563, Ghazi Shah himself undertook an expedition against Ladakh to teach its ruler a lesson, but he was forced to abandon the campaign and abdicate for certain reasons. Firstly, during his absence from the capital, the disgruntled nobles stirred up disturbance in the city. Secondly, the arduous march and excessive chill in the defiles of Ladakh had worsened the leprous state of his body so much that he lost his fingers as well as much of his eye-sight.[72] Lastly, Ghazi Shah had grown old and become senile. His teeth were decaying and he was losing fast the pawn of his speech.[73]

He was now unfit to rule, The issue of succession caused

his nobles split into two groups.[74] One group favoured prince Ahmed, while the other supported Ghazi's brother, Husain Chak.[75] Each group endeavoured to gain support for its candidate. The moment Ghazi Shah realised the gravity of the situation, he announced his abdication in favour of his brother Husain Chak in 1563 in preference to his son prince Ahmed, who had recently incurred the displeasure of his father on account of his unsuccessful Ladakh expedition.[76]

Many nobles and amirs condemned Ghazi Shah for his wrong move and advised him to cancel the abdication. Realizing his folly, Ghazi Shah decided to regain his powers and nominate prince Ahmed Khan as his heir-apparent. But his plan ended in a fiasco when Husain Chak promptly moved into action and ascended himself the throne in 1563.[77]

Ghazi Shah's Death

After the abdication, Ghazi Shah survived for three years, but during this period he led a miserable life. His son was tortured by the new ruler.[78] In the year 1566, Husain Chak issued orders to blind Ahmed Khan for his refractory attitude. Ghazi Shah made every exertion to get this order reversed, but in vain. Consequently, he died of this shock in 1566-67, and was buried in the pargana of Bankil.[79] He lived for 58 years.[80]

He was a master of many personal qualities. He was handsome,[81] energetic with a dogged tenacity of purpose. Ghazi Shah successfully combined the skill of a conqueror with the talent of an enlightened administrator.

As the protege of Kaji Chak, he fought in all his wars and share with him in exile all those moments of hope and despair. After Kaji's death, his predominance in the clan was unsurpassed. His whole career was full of adventures and from his very teens he was incessantly pre-occupied in displaying his military talents in warfare. It was due to his valour and determination that he pursued with single-minded application to grab the opportunity of attaining the position of king and laying the foundation of the Chak rule in Kashmir.

On assuming powers, he started his legal career with discretion and allowed freedom of belief to persons of all religions.[82] Though himself belonging to a Shia sect, he

appointed Sayyid Ibrahim's son Sayyid Mubarak,[83] a Sunni divine, his Wazir.[84]

He subdued the outer hill states and appointed able governors in various provinces for efficient working of the government.[85] Ghazi Shah believed in strict enforcement of justice. No one was above law in his kingdom. He inflicted harsh punishments on criminals. He cut the hands of a boy, who stolen fruits,[86] and imposed heavy fine on a villager for stealing fish.[87] He did not spare the life of his own son Haidar and executed him for stabbing his uncle.[88] He also executed Shams Raina, the father-in-law of his son, for sedition.[89]

For the prevention of robbery and theft, Ghazi Shah gave the offenders exemplary punishments, viz., gouging out of eyes, amputation of various organs of the body, and imposition of heavy fines.[90] By imposing heavy penalties and inflicting severe punishments upon the offenders, Ghazi Shah ensured peace and safety in the kingdom. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* has condemned Ghazi Shah for the infliction of inhuman punishments,[91] but we hear of such punishments even before him. It was during the later years of his reign that Ghazi Shah, became increasingly cruel for much of his vitality was sapped by his serious ailment. and he tended to be more choleric in temperament.[92]

He was a cultured man and composed verses in Persian.[93] Suka mentions him as one 'versed in literature'.[94] He had great regard for singers and learned men, and spared the life of Hafiz Mirza Husain for his fame in singing and recitation of the Quranic verses.[95] Himself a brave king, he always honoured brave soldiers. Thus he, forgave Kuchak Bahadur, belonging to Qara Bahadur's army, who was taken prisoner. Having been seriously wounded by an arrow, Ghazi Shah treated him with kindness and made him over to the physicians.[96]

Devoted to the cause of people's welfare, Ghazi Shah was the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir to have relieved the people from the oppressive practice of begar (forced labour).[97] But the most notable service of Ghazi Shah was that he successfully protected Kashmir from going over to the Mughals which about 27 years later was overwhelmed by them. Thus the study of his character and achievements leaves an impact, which endures and inspires,

Husain Shah Chak (1563-70)

Husain Chak ascended the throne in 1563,[98] under the title of 'Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Husain Badshah Ghazi'[99] and appointed his favourite noble Malik Muhammad Naji the Wazir.[100] He could not rule in peace and immediately after ascending the throne was called upon to deal with a number of recalcitrant elements and conspiracies. The first man who posed a threat to king Husain Shah was Ghazi's son Ahmed Khan. Assisted by Muhammad Magre, son of Abdal Magre, an old rival of the Chaks, and Nusrat Chak, Ahmed Khan planned to kill Husain Shah and capture the throne. But the plan was foiled when Husain Shah imprisoned them under false pledges and gouged out their eyes despite the petitions of Ghazi Shah for his son.[101]

Revolt of Fath Khawaja (1564)

In the year 1564, Husain Shah was faced with a revolt of his favourite noble Fath Khawaja[102] and his son, on whom the king had conferred titles of 'Khan-i-Zaman' and 'Bahadur Khan' respectively.[103] In league with Fath Chak, Shams Duni, Haidar Khan and other nobles, Fath Khawaja decided first to secure the release of Ahmed Khan, Muhammad Magre and Nusrat Chak and then to seize the power. It was also planned to make Fath Khawaja the Sultan of Kashmir.[104] Soon the time came to carry out the plan. When Husain Shah went on a hunting expedition, the conspirators forced their way into the royal palace and set its gates on fire. But they were encountered and dispersed by Masud Nayak the Amir-i-Dar, who was also holding charge of the capital and the royal guards. Fath Chak was killed and Bahadur Khan beheaded. The latter's head was exposed to terrorise his partymen. Fath Khawaja, the real brain behind this scandle, fled to Gurez[105] with Shams Duni and Haidar. He was pursued and imprisoned along with his accomplices. The king, on his return ordered their amputation[106] and Masud Nayak was elevated to the position of Khan-i-Zaman, with the title of Mubariz Khan.[107] In recognition of his faithful services, Husain Shah called him his son and conferred upon him the pargana of Bankil (modern Bangila) in jagir.[108]

Immediately, after suppressing this rebellion, Mubariz Khan also revolted against Husain Shah. A sudden turn in his career intoxicated him and he began to assume airs. His ambition to gain greater status and power soon overcame him and he began to aspire for the throne. In order to make his position strong, he collected a contingent of cavalrymen and won Lohar Chak to his side. Seeing his treacherous conduct, Husain Shah promptly managed to seize him along with Lohar Chak and got their hands and feet cut off. Nusrat Chak, who was already in prison, was blinded on account of his link with Mubariz Khan.[109]

Revolt of Shankar Chak (1567)

Another revolt against Husain Shah was led by his own younger brother, Shankar Chak in 1567.[110] He was the governor of Naushehra which was assigned to him in jagir. Under the influence of malcontents he fled from Srinagar and declared independence in his jagir.[111] From there he annexed the surrounding territories including Vankil, Buniar and some part of the Gakkar territory, and initiated a policy of oppression in the newly conquered areas. Tired of his depredations, the peasants of these small principalities petitioned before Husain Shah who promptly came to their rescue. A regular force, under his brother Ali Chak and his Wazir Malik Muhammad Naji was sent against the rebellious brother. They attacked Shankar Chak in the ravines of Poonch, where he had come to encounter them. Both the forces were locked in a fierce battle and Shankar was defeated.[112] Haidar Malik states : 'In the midst of fighting, Shankar Chak locked in a duel with his brother Ali Chak and when the latter was about to be overpowered by Shankar Chak, a soldier, Bahadur Khan, promptly intervened and saved Ali Chak. Shankar Chak received a sword cut and fled away to some unknown place.'[113] The chronicler does not write anything further about Shankar Chak. Possibly, he succumbed to his wounds. The jagir of Naushehra was transferred to Masud Nayak.[114]

After their successful return, Ali Chak and Muhammad Naji, were highly honoured by Husain Shah. However, Muhammad Naji, tired of worldly pomp and show, resigned from the post

of Wizarat.[115] Husain Shah, therefore, appointed Lauli Malık, his next Wazir, but on the charge of embezzling 40,000 kharwars[116] of paddy, belonging to the government, he was dismissed and, in his place, Ali Koka was elevated to the exalted office.[117] Ali Koka was a staunch Sunni and it was during his Wizarat that the religious controversies caused much panic in the kingdom which had far-reaching effects on the subsequent history of Kashmir. We learn from *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, that 'Ali Koka was an incompetent and worthless man, full of prejudices against the Shia community.'[118]

Religious Controversy (1568-69)

In the year 1568-69, a dispute over an incident sparked off a serious religious controversy and accentuated Shia-Sunni differences in Kashmir. The dispute started when on one Friday in 1568-69, a staunch Sunni, Qazi Habib, who was a Khatib (reader of prayer) in the Jami Masjid, took up a quarrel with Yusuf Aindar, a man of equally staunch Shi-ite persuasion. In the duel fight that followed Qazi Habib received a serious sword cut and fell down unconscious while Yusuf Aindar went to some hiding place.[109] When Ali Koka, the orthodox Sunni Wazir[120] of Husain Shah, heard of this mishap, he at once brought the matter to the notice of Husain Shah and, with his permission, appointed a Council of Sunni Ulema including Qazi Musa (Qazi-ul-Qazzat), Mulla Yusuf Almas and Mulla Beja Ganai to investigate the matter and suggest punishment.[121] Though a breach of Islamic law, the Penal of judges issued a decree condemning Yusuf Aindar to death. None of the four Schools of Islamic Law approve of this decision and in spite of Qazi Habib's own protest, that the death penalty could not be inflicted as he had survived, Yusuf was mercilessly stoned to death under the directions of mischievous Wazir Ali Koka and his brother Duni Koka, who wanted to defame the king by proving him a fanatical shi-ite.[122]

The incident excited the sectarian differences to a high pitch of frenzy. The whole shi-ite community took it as a challenge. Thus supported by some enlightened Sunnis, Qazi Zain of Shafi faith and Mulla Sulaiman of Shia faith, demanded a review of the

whole case.[123] It was at this time that Husain Shah's own devoted son Ibrahim Khan died and he was struck with grief.[124] Meanwhile, when he heard about the arrival of Akbar's envoy, Mirza Maqim, he decided to refer the case of Yusuf Aindar's execution to him for his opinion.[126]

Mirza Maqim and Religious Controversy

Even after Qara Bahadur's defeat in 1559-60,[127] Akbar was interested in Kashmir affairs. Therefore, in order to keep himself in close touch with the developments in the valley, he sent Mirza Maqim to Kashmir.[128] The envoy was received with befitting honour and dignity.[129] At this juncture, Kashmir was in the grip of sectarian differences and Husain Shah was perturbed on account of Yusuf Aindar's execution. He, therefore, referred the matter to Mirza Maqim, a third party, for re-investigation. Maqim involved himself seriously and his judgement cost him his own life later, when he returned from Kashmir.[130]

Mirza Maqim sent for all the Ulema of the city including three, Qazi Musa, Mulla Almas and Mulla Beja Ganai, who had condemned Yusuf Aindar to death. The Ulema of different schools (Hunfi, Shafi, Malki, Hamble and Shia), including Husain Shah, presented themselves before Mirza Maqim, while Qazi Musa cleverly abstained.[131] Qazi Zain and Mulla Razi, who were bent upon revenge, discussed the whole case before Mirza Maqim, and then asked Beja Ganai and Mulla Almas to quote the provisions of the Islamic law under which the execution of Yusuf Aindar was held lawful, when Qazi Habib did not die.[132] The law books of the four schools were brought before the two mullas to justify their verdict.[133] But the two mullas remained mum owing to pressure from all sides. At this time Ali Koka, the cunning Wazir of Husain Shah, pleaded on their behalf and accused the latter for executing Aindar on political grounds. He declared that the verdict of execution was given under duress.[134] But Husain Shah solemnly swored and denied having had exerted any such pressure except that, instead of deciding the case personally, he entrusted it to the Qazis for their decision in accordance with the Sunna.[135] The statement of the king silenced Ali Koka. In the end, under the surveillance

of Mirza Maqim, both the Sunni and Shia Ulema decreed the execution of Mulla Boja Ganai and Mulla Yusuf Almas according to Shafi law. Qazi Abdul Gaffur (Hanfi-ite), Qazi Zain (Shafi-ite), Mulla Sulaiman and his son Mulla Razi (Shi-ite) agreed with this judgement.[136] Accordingly, they demanded an immediate infliction of death penalty on the two Muftis.[137]

Mirza Maqim, a staunch Shi-ite, without any religious or political authority to interfere in Kashmir's internal matters, handed over the two convicted Muftis over to Fath Khan, the executioner, on his own responsibility.[138] Fath Khan was forced to put them to death after parading them through the city streets.[139]

Husain Shah, unable to uphold the verdict of Mirza Maqim and the Ulema of Kashmir, left the city at this critical juncture for some days to Kamraj and returned only when the actual act of execution was over.[140]

The execution of the two Muftis was effected in violation of the Islamic law, which does not permit the taking of lives of two persons for one as it happened in this case. Both the Sunni and Shia Ulema overshot their jurisdictions and created in awkward position for the ruler.[141]

Mirza Maqim too fired his gun, when he found himself the master of the situation, and initiated the revenge of Yusuf Aindar's execution. The others guilty in Aindar's case, Qazi Musa and Ali Koka went unpunished. Qazi Musa saved his life by concealing himself, while Ali Koka remained behind the screen. It would have been better for Mirza Maqim and the Ulema of Kashmir to sentence the culprits to life imprisonment, rather than shedding their blood.

The religious issue least influenced the political considerations at Kashmir owing to the King's dexterity in the religious affairs and the execution of Maqim at Agra.[142] Mirza Maqim left Kashmir in 1569 for Lahore and was accompanied by Yaqub, son of Baba Aii, as the Wakil of Husain Shah in the court of Emperor, Akbar.[143] Husain Shah also sent his own daughter, with precious gifts, to be married to Emperor Akbar[144] and, to all intents and purposes, he acknowledged his suzerainty.[145] But before Mirza Maqim could start from Lahore, Ali Koka and Duni Koka, who had gone there to bid him adieu, secretly despatched a Sunni group of disgruntled Kashmiri nobles and

the Ulema to the court of Emperor Akbar to complaint against his envoy. Headed by Mulla Abdullah and Shaikh Abdul Nabi, this group successfully acquainted Emperor Akbar with the misdoings of Mirza Maqim in Kashmir. Hearing about the perfidious conduct of his envoy, Emperor's anger stirred up to such a pitch, that he put Mirza Maqim on gallows at Fathepur Sikri (near Agra) as soon as the latter reached there.[146] To express his disapproval at the conduct of Husain Shah, Emperor Akbar issued further orders for the execution of his Vakil, Yaqub and returned the gifts and his daughter without bringing her into his espousal.[147] The news shocked the aged king Husain Shah, who was unable to bear this grave insult and soon after fell a prey to an attack of paralysis.[148]

Abdication

Towards the close of his reign, while Husain Shah was confined to bed, many nobles including Ali Koka, Duni Koka and Malik Naji, plotted to create misunderstanding between the King and his favourite brother, Ali Chak. They advised the King to set up one of his own sons on the throne promptly and imprison Ali Chak and Sayyid Mubarak.[149] Warned of this plot, Ali Chak fled to Sopore where he was joined by his favourite nobles, Sayyid Mubarak. Abi Shah, Lauli Malik and Abdal Kham who had come from Poonch.[150]

After collecting together a huge force, Ali Chak marched on Srinagar and encamped at Fath Yari.[151] Outwitting the royalists there, the forces under the command of Sayyid Mubarak moved onward to Zainkot[152] and finally entered the capital. Ali Koka and Naji Malik, seeing no way of success, advised Husain Shah to demit. As Husain Shah had become invalid owing to paralysis, he relinquished the throne in favour of his brother Ali Chak in 1570 A.D. and sent the crown to him through Baba Khalil.[153]

Closing Years

Immediately after Husain's abdication, many nobles induced Ali Shah to gouge out his eyes, but the wise Wazir of Ali Shah,

Sayyid Mubarak, advised him to refrain from this filthy action. He was, therefore, transferred to Harian Bazar in Zainpur[154] along with his treasury where he died after few years.[155]

Of all the Chak rulers who ascended the throne of Kashmir, Husain Shah was by far the best. His reign was exceptional in many respects. He was a dispassionate ruler and efficient administrator with a fine literary taste.

For his extreme generosity, he has been elevated to the position of Naushervan-i-Adil, after the great Sassanid Emperor of Persia, by the inspired contemporary Persian chronicler.[156] The king attended to the complaints of his subjects regularly, protected them from rapacious officials[157] and afforded relief to the needy and poor people by giving them out money in alms after every Friday prayer.[158]

Like other Chak rulers, Husain Shah was a Shia and like Emperor Akbar, he was catholic in his views. He appointed Habib, a Sunni as Qazi of Srinagar and allowed the practice of the Hanafi-ite law in the kingdom.[159] In his treatment of the Hindus, he was a man of liberal views. He participated in their annual festivals, viz., Nauroz and Basant Panchami and distributed royal gifts among the Hindus on all their ceremonial occasions.[160]

Husain Shah was the only king of Kashmir who planned his engagements by timetable. Thus, Friday was allotted for discussion with literary men and the Ulema; Saturday was devoted to conversation with the Brahmin and the Buddhist priests; Sunday, he passed in the association of Darveshas and Sufis; Monday, he attended the court with the Qazi and the Muftis; Tuesday, he passed in the company of Musicians; Wednesday, he looked after the army administration and inspected demonstrations of feats of archery and military artifices; and Thursday, he enjoyed in the company of his friends.[161]

Husain Shah was a man of many accomplishments and of varied tastes and interests. A Scholar in his own right, he was devoted to the study of Persian and Vedic literature. He was well versed in Persian, Kashmiri and Sanskrit languages and composed verses in Persian.[162] For the promotion of education, he established schools and colleges in the kingdom[163] and patronized men of letters and fine arts.[164] He was a pious man

punctiliously devoted to religious meditation and observance of Ramzan fasts.[165] Thus, as a man and as a ruler, Husain Shah stands out conspicuously and deserves to be classed among the greatest Muslim rulers of Kashmir.

Ali Shah Chak (1570-79)

Like his two brothers Ghazi and Husain, Ali ascended the throne of Kashmir in 1570, under the title of Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Ali Badshah Ghazi.[166] His favourite and devoted noble, Sayyid Mubarak became the Wazir. Sayyid Mubarak had already served as Wazir of Ghazi Shah, and for his faithful services, Ali Shah strengthened the bonds of friendship with him and gave his own daughter in marriage to his son, Sayyid Abul Maali.[168] In praise of Sayyid Mubarak, writes the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, that 'he was a man of generous disposition, free from wordly pomp and grandeur, honest to his duty and spent the major portion of his time in prayers.'[169]

The eight years of Ali Shah's rule did not pass off well. Internal disturbances, wars, and unforeseen calamities were the order of the day which he was called upon to face one after another.

Rise of Pretender

In 1571, after one year of his accession, an impostor from Iran, dressed in the garb of a darvesh and named Shaikh Arif came to Kashmir. He was a Shia and had lived under the protection of Husain Quli Khan of Lahore.[170] He had been driven from the Punjab owing to the objections of the Ulema, the chief of whom was Makhdum-ul-Malik, and he found asylum in Kashmir.[171] Many miracles are related to him.[172]

Learning about his piety, Ali Shah received the Darvesh with honour and gave his own daughter to him in marriage.[173] But he soon posed a threat to his very existence and the king had to resort to severe measures.[174]

The Darvesh won the confidence and goodwill of the Kashmiri nobles to such an extent that important officials, viz., Ali Chak, son of Nauroz Chak, and Ibrahim Chak, son of

Ghazi Chak, declared him to be the Mehdi of the age.[175] Their adoration for him carried them so far that they resolved to depose Ali Shah and elevate Shaikh Arif to the throne.[176] A plot was organised to assassinate the ruler, when he would come to visit the Darvesh.[177] It was soon discovered that he was an impostor and a dangerous character. The Kashmiri nobles deserted him and the king had him pursued and finally captured on the hill of Takht-i-Sulaiman. Ali Shah then fined him one thousand ashrafis (gold coins) and had his daughter taken from him in divorce and exiled him to Ladakh,[178] and from there he fled to Emperor Akbar and died there shortly afterwards.[179]

Suppression of Internal Disturbances

The ill-treatment meted out to Shaikh Arif by Ali Shah was highly resented by his followers and, immediately after the exile of the former,[180] his devotee, Nauroz's son Ali Chak, in league with Ibrahim Chak organised a plot to seize the throne for the second time. But once again his schemes were foiled and he was imprisoned. For his mischievous activities, Ali Shah ordered his execution. But his pious Wazir, Sayyid Mubarak, interceded on his behalf and wanted him to go to his jagir in Kamraj.[181] Ali Chak, instead of going there, fled to Ali Quli Khan, the governor of Emperor Akbar in the Punjab and solicited his help.[182] But he returned disgusted, for Ali Quli Khan did not treat him with conventional hospitality, and stayed in the fort of Mankot. Joined by some other disgruntled nobles, he raised a banner of rebellion there. Ali Shah, thereupon, despatched a force against him. He was captured, and after a year and six months' imprisonment, Sayyid Mubarak again pleaded on his behalf and got him released.[183]

Revolt of Prince Yusuf

In 1572, a serious situation arose in the kingdom, when Prince Yusuf revolted against his father. Prince Yusuf's immediate rival for the throne was Ghazi Shah's son Aiba Chak. The relations between the two became inimical when

one day Aiba Khan disobliged Prince Yusuf and passed obscene remarks.[184] Incited by a noble Muhammad Bat, Prince Yusuf killed him in an ambuscade and fled to Sopore, where he organised a rising. Abdal Chak, Ali Shah's brother, decided to attack Yusuf promptly for he was anxious to clear the way for his own succession. But on the intervention of Sayyid Mubarak, who wrote a letter to Prince Yusuf, the fratricidal war was averted and father and son reconciled.[186] However, Muhammad Bat was not spared. He was summoned and imprisoned.[186]

Immediately after this bloodless victory, Ali Shah was disturbed by two other nobles, Shams Duni and Muhammad Maraj. But they were captured and imprisoned and, later at the request of Sayyid Mubarak, both were set free.[187]

Sayyid Mubarak, the king's sage Wazir, seems to have been singularly disposed towards peace and to setting affairs by sagacity and wisdom. On several occasions, he saved the kingdom of the Chaks from serious disturbances.

Invasion of Haji and Salim (1575-76)

Among the posteriors of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70) Haji Haidar Khan and Salim Khan, the two sons of Sultan Nazuk Shah, were living an exiled life in the neighbouring hill state of Poonch and were aspiring for the throne.[188] Lured by some Kashmiri chiefs, the two brothers, Haji and Salim marched on Kashmir, and encamped at Naushehra from where they made secret correspondence with the disaffected nobles of Kashmir. Assured of their co-operation, the inexperienced and resourceless young princes advanced from Naushehra in 1575.[189] Ali Shah promptly sent a force of 5,000 soldiers under his nephew Lohar Khan and Muhammad Khan.[190] The two princes were defeated in their endeavour not by Ali Shah's military might but by the cunning diplomacy of Muhammad Khan, who by a strategem killed prince Salim and dislodged prince Haji Haidar, when they reached Thana near Rajouri.[191]

Thus, a great catastrophe was avoided without sacrificing a single life of Ali's force. On his return Muhammad Khan became the recipient of many favours from the king, while Ali

Dangri, Daud Kadar and other nobles, who had intended to help the pretenders, were punished.[192]

Relations with Kishtwar

The Rajas of the small hill state of Kishtwar[193] were tributary to Kashmir. Its Rajas who were Hindus till Aurangzeb's time, practically retained their independence until the conquest of their territory by Maharaja Gulab Singh.[194] During the weak succession of Shahmiri rulers of Kashmir, the Rajas of Kishtwar had discontinued the practice of sending tribute but this practice was resumed by Ghazi Shah, the founder of the Chak dynasty. Shortly after the accession of Ali Shah, Raja Bahadur Singh of Kishtwar renounced his authority and stopped sending the tribute. Ali Shah, therefore, decided to reduce Kishtwar. Accordingly in 1572,[195] he despatched his forces under the command of his three commanders Ali Khan, Abdal Chak, and Nauroz Chak, to invade Kishtwar from three different quarters, Doda,[196] Singppur[197], and Marv.[198] Finding unable to resist the invaders, Raja Bahadur Singh sued for peace and signed a treaty under which (i) he acknowledged Ali Shah as his suzerain, (ii) agreed to pay as tribute, saffron and (iii) in token thereof presented his sister Shankar Devi for Ali Shah's grandson, Yaqub.[199] But, as soon as the royal forces retraced their steps, Raja Bahadur repudiated the terms of the treaty. A second expedition was, therefore undertaken in 1573. The royal force led by Ismail Ganai and Haidar Chak inflicted crushing andignominious defeat on Raja Bahadur and forced upon him the terms already laid down in the previous treaty. Raja Bahadur therefore sent his son Narayan Singh with saffron, hawks and falcons to Kashmir. He also sent his own daughter[200] for Ali Shah, who was married by the king and gained the sobriquet of 'Fath-i-Khatun'[201] (a lady who had been conquered). Thereafter, the relations between Kashmir and Kishtwar remained cordial during the whole period of the Chak rule.

Akbar and Kashmir

With the exception of Ghazi Shah, none of the early Chak

rulers could escape Akbar's talon for a long period. They were made to play a second fiddle in the hands of Emperor Akbar. Ghazi Shah was the only Chak potentate who repulsed the Mughal onslaught but his brother, Husain, was reduced to the position of a puppet king by Akbar's envoy, Mirza Maqim.[202]

No doubt Ali Shah, kept himself away from the Mughal clutches for the first three years of his rule but in 1573,[203] he too was overawed by sheer superiority of Akbar's two ambassadors, Qazi Sadr-ud-Din and Mulla Ali.[204] Emperor Akbar, from the neighbourhood of Kalanur, had sent his ambassadors to Kashmir, ostensibly, with the object of proposing a marriage between prince Salim and Husain's daughter, previously rejected, but in reality to find out whether the conditions wer favourable for a Mughal invasion of Kashmir[205] and to force Ali Shah to pay his personal homage to Akbar.[206] The mission was carried out by the ambassadors with conspicuous success. Ali Shah proclaimed Akbar his sovereign, read the Khutba and minted coins[207] in his name. He, too, accepted the marriage proposal and sent his Vakil, Muhammad Qasim, with his niece carrying the best specimens of Kashmir—saffron, musk and shawls as presents for the Emperor.[208] The ambassadors remained in Kashmir for a period of about five years and returned to the imperial Darbar in 1579.[209]

Famine (1576-79)

The last years of Ali Shah's reign were clouded with anxieties when the two hoodoos-famine and fire, caused him endless worries. In 1576, autumn crops (paddy) failed owing to the early fall of heavy snow and caused famine in the country.[210] The king took effective measures to fight the famine and exhausted all the resources of the state for alleviation of the sufferings of his subjects. He distributed grains stored in the government store-house, remitted or reduced the tax in the affected areas, but the famine continued for three years in all its horror and destruction.[211] To make the situation worse, the town around the temple Samudramatha[212] was gutted by grisly fire causing enormous loss of life and property. Thus thousands

of people were swept by hunger and fire. The state treasury turned empty and economic position of the peasants deteriorated.[213]

In a state of helplessness, the king moved from one shrine to another, praying for the welfare of his subjects. It was during these days of miseries, Ali Shah was told by a Faqir Zatu Chak that the cessation of famine would synchronize with his death.[214]

Ali Shah was not yet destined to see his subjects relieved from the miseries, when one day in the new year of 1579, he went to Idgah at Srinagar for playing polo (Chaughan) and fell down from the horse while in Chukken. The pommel of saddle gave a fatal cut to his belly and he died on the spot.[215]

Like his brother Husain, Ali Shah was kind hearted, able, prudent and an impartial ruler. He inaugurated his reign by introducing himself publicly to his subjects on the Friday congregation at Jamia Masjid and won the mass goodwill by declaring that he would rule "like a true patriot and conduct official business of the state without the least interference of religious prejudice".[216]

By nature, Ali Shah was a man of humane disposition and was opposed to the infliction of harsh and brutal punishments. It is remarkable for an age in which the punishments generally included, mutilation of hands, feet, ear and nose, gouging out of eyes, hammering the bones of hands and feet, roasting alive in fire, flaying alive, and battering with spiked rod. As one of the precursors of the 9th century criminal reform movement, he abolished the severities of the criminal codes from the judicial state administration of the country.[217] In this endeavour he was supported by his noble Wazir, Sayyid Mubarak.[218]

Though, by faith a shi-ite, he was extremely liberal and like Ghazi Shah and Husain Shah before him, he also appointed a Sunni Wazir and cultivated matrimonial relations with the Sunnis.[219] The king had high regard for Sufis, Saints and learned men. He daily paid visit to Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, a great Sufi of the time.[220] He paid equal respect to his disciples, viz., Baba Daud Ganai, Baba Rishi Harvi, Zatu Chak and Muhammad Rafiq.[221]

Ali Shah's generous patronage of scholars, poets and learned men is rarely unsurpassed. His court was adorned by promi-

nent persons, and scholars including Baba Yaqub Sarfi and Baba Daud Khaki. Ahmed Kashmir was a favourite poet of Ali Shah and had become celebrated for his elegant poetry.[222] Like Husain Shah, Ali Shah had also fixed a day for discussions with the learned men and Sufis.[223]

Not many monarchs in history have emphasised so much, as Ali Shah has done, a ruler's obligation to his people, making enquiries after their welfare, listening to their cases, feeding the needy and the poor and forgiving those who begged for pardon. The peasants were completely relieved from many oppressive exactions by the king. The system of forced labour which was common under Shahmiri rulers, was completely stopped by Ali Shah. Even the hanjis (ferrymen) who were required to serve the king seven days in every month, were exempted from this evil custom.[224]

In private life, he was devoted to religious meditation. A year before his death, he went on top of a mosque in the company of learned and pious men and confessed his sins, for repentence.[225] He spent his last days in prayers and in reciting the Quran.[226]

REFERENCES

1. For details, see chapter 1.
2. Rodgers, coin No. 19, plate II. Rodgers also attributes coin No. 18, plate II, dated 961 A.H. (1553-54 A.D.) to Ghazi Shah (See J.A.S.B., 1885, p. 129).
3. For details of Kaji Chak, see pp. 12-13 supra.
4. Hasan, p. 233.
5. *A.N.*, p. 198; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 720. Rodgers wrongly mentions Husain Chak and Ali Chak, the sons of Husain Chak, brother of Kaji Chak. They were the sons of Kaji Chak and related to Ghazi Shah from parental side. See J.A.S., G. Britain and Ireland (1918), p. 467
6. *A.N.*, II, p. 198; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 720.
7. Buniar lies on the way to Uri, a convenient route used earlier by Kashmiris (Stein, II, p. 404).
8. *H.M.*, f.130b; Hasan, pp. 223-24. Pakhli comprises the whole of the hill territory between Kashmir in the east and Indus on the west. To Pakhli belonged also the lower valley of Kisanganga and the valleys of the streams which flow into the latter from Kajang rang and the mountains to the N.W. of Kashmir (Stein, II, p. 434).

9. *H.M.*, f. 130b; Hasan, pp. 223-24; Rodgers, p. 425.
10. Ibid.
11. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 741.
12. Hasan, p. 224; Sufi, II, p. 219.
13. *B.S.*, f. 123a.
14. *B.S.*, f. 123 a; Nizam-ud-Din (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 731) and Firishta (p. 508) wrongly write that conspiracy was hatched against Ghazi Shah only. Husain was in prison and the conspirators wanted to place him on the throne.
15. *B.S.*, f. 123 b. Firishta, p. 508. Nizam-ud-Din mentions that Nusrat Chak surrendered to Ghazi without any armed conflict (*Tabaqat.*, III, pp. 731-32).
16. 'Around the north shore of the Volur lake, there stretches in a semi-circle the district of 'Khuyaham'. Its ancient name is given by Kalhana as Khuyasrama, while Srivara writes it with a slight variation, 'Khoyasrama' (Stein, II, p. 480).
17. *B.S.*, f. 123 b. Nizam-ud-Din gives a different story of Bahram Chak. He says that 'after Bahram Chak having been hit by an arrow, had gone to some unknown place. After a great search Ahmed Jurin, who was entrusted with the duty of capturing Bahram, seized him at Badkal a village where he had been carried by the Rishis of Sherkot. He was brought to Srinagar and strangled and Jurin received the title of Fath Khan (*Tabaqat.*, III, pp. 733-34). See also Firishta, p. 509.
18. *B.S.*, f. ibid., Hasan, p. 234.
19. *B.S.*, f. 124 a.
20. For details of Abul Maali, See *A.N.*, II, pp. 153-54. Badauni, II, p. 3. Suka wrongly mentions the invasion of Abul Maali after Qara Bahadur's invasion, pp. 387-88.
21. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 734; *A.N.*, II, pp. 153-54. Badauni (II, p. 3) is wrong in saying that Kamal Khan honoured Abul Maali and encouraged him to set out to conquer Kashmir. Kamal Khan was loyal to Akbar and he imprisoned Abul Maali. (*A.A.*, pp. 507-8).
22. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 734.
23. *B.S.*, f. 123 b; Hasan, p. 234.
    Haidar Malik mentions that Kashmiri nobles joined Abul Maali at Poonch (f. 131 b).
24. *A.N.*, II, p. 154; *B.S.*, f. 124a.
25. Ibid.
26. *Tabaqat.*, p. 735; see also Firishta, p. 510.
27. *Tabaqat.*, III, (p. 735) and Firishta, p. 510. 'Patan' is a village at a distance of 27 Km. (17 miles) in the N.W. of Srinagar on the road between Srinagar and Baramulla (Stein, II, p. 481).
28. *B.S.*, f. 124a.
29. *H.M.*, f. 131b; *B.S.* f. 124a. 'Hanjivara' is a large village about 3 Km. (2 miles) east of Patan. (Stein, II, p. 481).
30. H.M., f. 131 b; *B.S.*, f. 124 a. Abul Fazl writes that Shams Raina,

after coming out of the battlefield, followed a wretched route and nearly fell into the hands of the Kashmiris. But one of Chaghtai heroes, whom he came across, offered him his own horses and while Abul Maali successfully escaped, the young hero was killed by the Kashmiris (*A.N.*, II, p. 154).

31. *H.M.*, ff. 131 b; *B.S.*, f. 124 b; Hasan, p. 235.
32. *H.M.*, f. 131b.
33. *A.N.*, II, p. 154.
34. *B.S.*, f. 124b.
35. Ibid.
36. *Firishta*, p. 54; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 735; *H.M.*, f. 132b.
37. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 736; Rodger, p. 127.
38. *H.M.*, ff. 131b-132 b; *B.S.*, f. 124a.
39. *H.M.*, f. 132b ; Hasan, p. 236.
40. *H.M.*, ff. 133a-134b; Hasan, p. 236. The author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, is silent about this event. Firishta relates this event before the invasion of Abul Maali (p. 509). Suka mentions after Qara Bahadur's invasion (p. 388).
41. *H.M.*, ff. 133a-134b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 731.
42. *H.M.*, f. 134b; *A.N.*, II, p. 197; *A.A.*, p. 513.
43. *A.N.*, II, p. 197. Abul Fazl states that at the requests of Kashmiri nobles, Emperor Akbar declared, 'as it is proper of the rulers of administration of justice and of worldly sway, that whenever a ruler engages himself in his own pleasures and spends his time in gratifying his lusts and does not attend to the cherishing of his subjects and sympathising with the oppressed and to overthrow oppressors, the Lord of the age (Akbar) to whom Almighty God has given power and made him the governor of the terrestrial, should for the sake of thanks-giving to God strive to uproot that tyrant (Ghazi Shah), and to make over the inhabitants of his country to be the prudent and just minded. (*A.N.*, II, p. 197)
44. *A.N.*, II, p. 197; *A.A.*, p. 513.
45. *A.A.*, p. 513.
46. Ibid.
47. *A.N.*, II, p. 198.
48. *A.N.*, II, p. 198. Abul Fazl, writing about the Kashmir routes and passes comments, 'it is not by such slowness and heaviness that the entrance into Kashmir is to be effected, for the roads of that country are of such nature, that if the ruler gets the news a few days before the approach of strangers and seized the passes, it would be difficult, rather impossible for any adorned with thousands of Rustums to get possession of the country (*A.N.*, p. 198).
49. *B.S.*, f. 124b; H.M., f. 134b; *A.N.*, p. 198.
50. 'Bahramgala'; a considerable place mentioned by Srivara as 'Bhairavagala', was a common route leading to Kashmir (Stein, II, p. 398).
51. '*Tosubul*' or Tosa-maidan pass is the most direct route between the

Kashmir capital and Lohara modern Lorin. (Stein, II, p. 399)

52. *B.S.*, f. 124b; H.M., f. 135a.
53. *B.S.*, f. 124b; *A.N.*, III, p. 199; *A.A.*, p. 513; Suka, p. 388.
54. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 737.
55. *H.M.*, f. 135-a.
56. *B.S.*, f. 124b; *A.N.*, II, p. 199.
57. *A.N.*; p. 199.
58. Ibid., *B.S.*, f. 124b.
59. *H.M.*, f. 135 a.
60. For details of Dombas see p. 189 infra.
61. *B.S.*, f. 124-b; Suka, p. 388.
62. Suka, p. 388.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 738; Firishta, p. 513.
66. *Tabaqat.*, II , p. 738.
67. Lar is the ancient Lahara comprising the whole territory in the north-east of Kashmir drained by the Sindh and its tributaries (Stein, *R.T.*, I, V, 51 n).
68. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 739; Firishta, p. 513.
69. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 739.
70. Ibid. Firishta writes that Fath Chak lost his life in the encounter (p. 514).
71. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 739.
72. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 740; Firishta, p. 514.
73. Firishta, p. 514.
74. Firishta, p. 514; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 740.
75. Ibid.
76. *B.S.*, f. 125-b; *H.M.*, f. 135b; Firishta, p. 514.
77. *B.S.*, f. 126-a. Nizam-ud-Din (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 740) and Firishta (p. 515) state that Ghazi Shah decided to cancel abdication at the instigation of some traders who wanted to purchase personal belongings of Ghazi Shah at a very low price. But it does not seem to be convincing.
78. Suka (p. 391), writes that in the course of time, the king was attacked with a severe leprosy and was deprived of his beauty. Itching was caused by worms in his body and pus and blood came out of it, worms drank off his pus and blood and ate his flesh, and he was deprived of his life.
79. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 744; Firishta, p. 517; *Wajiz-ul-Tawarikh*, p. 23. The 'pargana of Bankil', used as Bhangila by Kalhana (Raj. VII, 498, VIII, 3130) corresponds to the present pargana of Banjil, to the south-west of Paraspore (Stein, II, p. 481).
80. Ghazi was 17 years old when Emperor Babur's troops invaded Kashmir in 1526. (See *B.S.*, f. 92-a). Obviously, his date of birth comes to 1509. He died in 1566-67, i.e., at the age of 58 years.
81. Suka, p. 391.

82. Rafi-ud-Din has accused Ghazi Shah for his intolerant policy (p.77). But there is no such evidence in the contemporary sources.
83. For details of Sayyid Mubarak, see infra p. 79 sqq.
84. *B.S.*, f. 123 a.
85. H.M., f. 123-a; Hasan, pp. 223-24.
86. Suka, p. 389.
87. Ibid.
88. *H.M.*, f. 135-a; Firishta, p. 511; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 740.
89. *B.S.*, f. 124-a; H.M., f. 131 b.
90. *B.S.*, f. 125-a.
91. Ibid.
92. Firishta, p. 511; Suka, p. 391.
93. Suka, p. 383. Also see Newall (J.A.S.B., 1854), p. 426.
94. Suka, p. ibid.
95. Firishta, p. 511; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 735.
96. *A.N.*, II, p. 199.
97. *A.A.*, p. 90 Under the Shahmiri's rulers men were forcibly employed to separate the saffron from the petals and the stamens and for this they were given a certain quantity of salt as wages. But from the time of Ghazi Shah Chak, they received eleven traks (one trak was equal to eight seers of Akbar's time) of saffron flowers out of which one trak was to be their wages and for the remaining ten, they had to supply a quarter trak of saffron to the government. This custom was abolished by Akbar on his third visit to Kashmir to the great relief of the peasants (A.A., p. 90).
98. *B.S.*, f. 126-a; H.M., f. 135b; Rafi-ud-Din, p. 79.
99. Rodgers coin Nos. 20 and 21. (J.A.S.B., LXI, I, 1885, pp. 94, 129); R.C. Kak, p. 138.
100. *H.M.*, f. 136a; Narayan Koul, p. 92; Azam, p. 85; Birbal, f. 85a.
101. *B.S.*, f. 126; Firishta, p. 515.
102. The Khawaja was a rich trader and, owing to his wealth, was associated with the king and nobles. The word 'Khawaja' is associated with the name of all those men who are merchants in Kashmir.
103. *B.S.*, f. 126-b; Suka, p.392; *Tabaqat.*, II, p. 392.
104. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 743; Firishta, p. 516.
105. The upper Krishanganga valley is known as 'Gurez' which connects Astor with the Balti territory of the Indus (Stein, II, pp. 406-7).
106. *B.S.*, 127-a; Rodgers, p. 131; Firishta, p. 516.
107. Mohibbul Hasan wrongly writes that Fath Chak was Wazir of Husain Shah and was succeeded later on by Mubariz Khan (pp. 154-55). Malik Muhammad Naji was the Wazir of Husain Shah (H.M., f. 136a).
108. Firishta, p. 516; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 743.
109. *B.S.*, f. 127a. Rodgers wrongly states that Mubariz Khan took quarrel with Husain Shah and demanded equal share out of his treasury when it was not given, he turned against the king (p. 121).
110. *H.M.*, f. 137a; Narayan Koul, p. 93; *Tabaqat.*, III, 741. Firish was

wrongly assigned the date 972 A.H. (1568 A.D.) to this event (p. 525).

111. Firishta, p. 525.
112. *H.M.*, ff. 137b-138a; Hasan, p. 240; Firishta, p. 515; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 741.
113. *H.M.*, ff. 137b-138a.
114. Firishta, p. 515; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 741.
115. H.M., ff. 138 a-b.
116. One Kharwar was equal to three maunds and eight seers of the Mughal Shahi weight, and the total annual produce of paddy in Kashmir, under the Chaks was twenty lakh Kharwar (Tuzuk, I, p. 143).
117. *B.S.*, f. 127 b; Firishta, p. 517; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 745.
118. *B.S.*, f. ibid.
119. *B.S.*, f. 127 b. Haidar Malik is completely silent about this incident. We find different versions of this controversy in other chronicles. According to Firishta and Nizam-ud-Din, "in the year 976 A.H. (1568 A.D.), Qazi Habib, a person of Hanfi-ite persuasion, after leaving the great mosque on Friday, went to pay his devotion at the tomb of some holy person at the foot of Maran hill. On this occasion a Rafdi, (Shia) Yusuf Aindar by name drew the sword and struck the Qazi on the head. He levelled also another blow at the Qazi who in endeavouring to save his head, had his finger cut off. This attack arose out of no other cause then the animosity which existed between the two sects (Firishta, p. 517; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 747). Hasan narrates a similar story but he adds further that Qazi Habib was saved by Maulana Kamal, who was with the Qazi (p. 420). Azam Didmar's version is entirely different. He says, "after completing Friday prayers, Yusuf Aindar threw away the cap from Qazi Habib's head, who was the imam of the city. As this Qazi issued the orders for his execution and he was accordingly persecuted (p. 151)
120. *B.S.*, f. 127b.
121. Ibid., Firishta, p. 517; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 745; Hasan, p. 241.
122. According to the Quran the punishment to a criminal can be imposed on the following lines :

    We ordained therein for them
    "Life for life, eye for eye,
    None for nose, ear for ear,
    Tooth for tooth, and wounds
    Equal for equal."

    But if anyone remits the retaliation by way of charity, it is an act of atonement for himself. And if any fails to judge by (the light of) what Allah hath revealed they are (no better than) wrong doers, Surah 48, p. 257. (Translation Abdullah Yusuf Ali). According to the Quranic version, the decree issued against Yusuf Aindar was unlawful for Qazi Habib was not killed.

The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* has exaggerated the manner in which Aindar's execution was carried out (ff. 128 a-b).

123. *B.S.*, ff.128 a-b.
124. Ibid.
125. Badauni, II, p. 128.
126. Ibid.
127. Badauni, II, p. 128; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746; Firishta, p. 518.
128. Badauni, II, p. 128; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746.
129. Badauni, II, p. 128; Firishta, p. 518; *B.S.*, f.128 b.
130. *B.S.*, f.128 b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746; Firishta, p. 518, Badauni, II, p. 128; *Comprehensive History*, p. 775.
131 *B.S.*, f. 128 b.
132 *B.S.*, ff. 128 a-129b.
133 Ibid.
134. Ibid.
135. Ibid.
136. Ibid.
137. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746; Firishta, p. 519; Rodgers, p. 132.
138. Badauni, II, p. 128.
139. Firishta, p. 519; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746; Sayyid Ali, p. 43; Rafi-ud Din, p. 84; Azam, p. 52; Hasan, pp. 241-42.
140. Firishta, p. 519; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746.
141. Quran, Eng. Translation by Abdullah Yusuf Ali Surah 48, p. 257.
142. Badauni, II, p. 128; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746.
143. Nizam-ud-Din wrongly writes that Yaqub was sent by Emperor Akbar with Mirza Maqim (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746).
144. *B.S.*, f. 103b; Badauni, II, p. 128.
145. Firishta, p. 519; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746; Badauni, II, p. 128; *B.S.*, f. 130b. Hasan writes that Husain Shah sent his daughter for Prince Salim (p. 241). Mohibbul Hasan has followed Hasan (p. 156).
146. Badauni, II, p. 128; Firishta, p. 519; *Tabaqbt.*, III, p. 746; *B.S.*, f. 130b.
147. Firishta, p. 515; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746; Badauni, II, p. 128.
148. *B.S.*, f. 131 b. Firishta (p. 515) and Nizam-ud-Din (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746) write that Husain Shah had the attack of dysentery and cancer. Suka, on the other hand, writes that the king was attacked with epilepsy, 'disease of brain causing fits and convulsion (p. 393).
149. *B.S.*, f. 131b.
150. Ibid.
151. Fath Yari was known as Fathgarh. It is now site full of considerable remains of ancient temples (Stein, II, p. 404).
152. Zainkot is situated about ten Km. (six miles) below Srinagar and was called Jainakotta (Stein, II, p. 477).
153. *B.S.*, ff. 130a-133b. According to Firishta, the abdication took place without any differences between the two brothers, Husain Chak and Ali Chak (p. 519).

154. Zainpur,. also called Jainapur, was founded by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (Stein, II, p. 472).
155. Birbal, p. 85; Hasan, p. 244.
156. H.M., f. 136a.
157. Suka, pp. 391, 393; *B.S.*, f. 126 a.
158. H.M., f. 136 a.
159. Azam (MS), p. 159.
160. Suka, p. 393.
161. H.M., ff. 136a-b; Birbal, f. 85a, Azam, p. 153; Hasan,. p. 238; Narayan Koul, p. 93.
162. Rafi-ud-Din, f. 85a; Hasan, p. 238.
163. *Tabaqat*., III, p. 744.
164. Azam, pp. 114-15; *A.A.*, p. 108, n. 8. For details, see pp. 277-68, infra
165. H.M., f. 136b.
166. Rodgers, p. 132, coin Nos. 22 to 25, Pt. II (J.A.S.B., 1885); R.C. Kak, p. 138; Coin No. 24, Pt. No. VI (J.A.S.B., 1876, Delmelrich, p. 296).
167. *B.S.*, f. 122a.
168. *B.S.*, f. 133b.
169. Ibid.
170. Badauni, III (Haig), p. 98. The local contemporary chroniclers have mentioned nothing about Shaikh Arif.
171. Badauni writes about Arif that, 'he is one of the grandsons of Ismail-i-Safari. He is a great master of exorcism, practices, many austerities and strives much in the path of holiness, breaking his fast always with some coarse burnt barely bread and bitter herbs, which none but himself can bear to eat. He walks steadfastly in the straight path of holy law and recites the 'Azan' at five times of the prayers in the practice of Shaikh Abul Fazl, at Imperial court, fearing no boy" (III, p. 79).
172. For details see Badauni, III (Haig), pp. 98-100.
173. Ibid; Firishta, p. 522; *Tabaqat*., p. 749.
174. *A.N.*, III, p. 847.
175. *A.N.*, III, p. 847; Firishta, p. 522; *Tabaqat*., III, p. 749.
176. *A.N.*, III, p. 847.
177. Ibid.
178. Firishta, p. 522; *Tabaqat*., III, p. 749; Rodgers, p. 134; Badauni, III, p. 99. Abul Fazl exaggerates the facts when he writes that Ali Rai, the ruler of Ladakh regarded the coming of Darvesh as boon and begged him to accept his noble beloved and sister as his wife (*A.N.*, III, p. 847).
179 Firishta, p. 522; *Tabaqat*., III, p. 749.
180 *A.N.*, III, p 847; Badauni, III, p. 99.
181. *B.S.*, f. 135a; Firishta, p. 522; *Tabaqat*., III, p. 749.
182 *B.S.*, f. 135a; Tabaqat., III, p. 749.
183. *B.S.*, ff. 135a-136b; Hasan, p. 246; *Tabaqat*., III, pp. 749 50.

Mohibbul Hasan writes that Ali Chak was released on presenting the Sultan one hundred gold dinnars (p. 159). But we do not find any such version in the contemporary chronicles.

184. *B.S.*, ff. 136a-b; *Tabaqat*., III, p. 749.
185. *Tabaqat*., III, p. 749; *B.S.*, ff. 136a-b
186. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 159; *Comprehensive History*, V, p. 777.
187. *B.S.*, f. 136 b.
188. H.M., f. 139b; Azam, p. 155; *Tabaqat*., III, p. 750; Hasan, p. 245.
189. H.M., f. 139; *Tabqat*., III, p. 750.
Radgers, p. 134.
190. H.M., f. 139; *Tabaqat*., III, p. 750.
Newal, p. 126 (J.A.S.B., 1854).
191. We are told by the writers that as soon as the invader reached Thana, Muhammad Khan, under pre-planned scheme, ingratiated himself to the princes and handed Lohar Khan over to the prince Salim. He manifested sympathy for them and made them believe that he was loyal to their cause. He also offered himself to conquer Kashmir for Haidar on the condition that Salim, the younger brother should accompany him. Haidar Khan being deceived by his words accepted the terms and sent Salim with him. When the two reached in a narrow gorge at Thana, Muhammad Khan turned against the prince and slew him on spot. When the news reached the prince, he was shocked and escaped to Hindustan, while Muhammad Khan successfully secured the release of Lohar Chak (H.M., ff. 140a-b, *Tabaqat*., III, p. 751; Birbal, p. 86; Hasan, p. 246).
192. *Tabaqat*., III, p. 751.
193. The hill state of modern 'Kishtwar' (ancient Kashtavata) is in the S.E. of Kashmir on the upper Chinab river. It is famous for saffron cultivation (Stein, p. 431). Firishta (p. 522) and Nizam-ud-Din (*Tabaqat*. III, p. 741) have written 'Gunwar' and 'Kaithwar', ' respectively for Kishtwar.
194. Stein, II, p. 431.
195. Hashmat Ullah (*Tarikh-i-Kishtwar*), pp. 151-52;
J.P.H.S., IV, p. 37; Najim-ud-Daullah, (*Tarikh-i-Kishtwar*), p. 24. Nizam-ud-Din writes that Kishtwar was annexed in 1574 (*Tabaqat*., III, p. 741).
196. Hashmat Ullah, pp. 151-52; *Tabaqat*., III, p. 741; Azam, p. 126. Doda is now district headquarter, situated on the left bank of the river Chinab. It connects Kishtwar through Tahri pass.
197. 'Singppur' is situated on the left side of the Marbal pass, leading to Kishtwar.
198. Marv is the easiest approach to Kishtwar and was frequently used by the people during early days.
199. Hashmat-Ullah, pp. 151-52; *Tabaqat*., III, p. 741; Birbal, ff. 86a-b. Haidar Malik wrongly mentions Shankar Devi as the daughter

of Raja Bahadur (f. 141a).

200. According to Mohibbul Hasan, Bahadur Singh presented to Ali Shah the wife of one of his relations, with whom Sultan was in love. There is no such evidence in Haidar Malik's account, to whom Mohibbul Hasan has wrongly referred (p.761).
201. Hashmat-Ullah, pp. 151-52; Najim-ud-Daullah, p. 24; Hasan, p. 245; Azam, p. 156; Birbal, ff. 86a-b.
202. See pp. 54-56 supra (For details of Mirza Maqim).
203. Firishta, p. 522; *Tabaqat.*, p. 750. The date 1578, as given by Abul Fazl (A.N., III, p. 750), for the arrival of Akbar's ambassadors in Kashmir is wrong. In fact, this is the date, of their return. (Badauni, II, p. 276).
204. Badauni writes about Mulla Isqi having come to Kashmir as Vakil with Sadr-ud-Din of Lahore. He is further attributed to have written a 'Diwan' and a 'Masnavi' under the title of Khan.
205. *A.N.*, III, p. 356; Badauni, II, p. 276; Azam, p. 157. Previously Husain Shah proposed her daughter's marriage to Emperor Akbar.
206. *A.N.*, III, p. 356; Badauni, Low, II, p. 276; Hasan, p. 245.
207. Azam, p. 157. Coin No. 27, Pt. II (J.A.S.B., 1885, Rodgers, p. 135) of Ali Shah's time bears the name of Akbar. It was minted in 987/1579.
208. Azam, p. 157.
209. Badauni, II, p. 276. Akbar's coin minted at Srinagar bears the date (987 1579) of the return of ambassadors (Rodger, p. 135).
210. H.M., f. 141b; Suka, p. 395; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 751; Nigaristan, p. 183.
211. H.M., f. 141b; Suka, p. 395; Firishta, p. 523. Mohibbul Hasan wrongly gives 1578 as the date of famine in Kashmir. He also writes that Akbar's ambassadors were returned by Ali Shah in the same year with precious gifts (p. 161). Thus the account in itself is confusing.
212. The temple 'Samudramatha' is below the second bridge and is still visited as Tirtha in Kashmir (Stein, II, p.450).
213. Suka, p. 395; H.M., p. 146; *Muntakhab-Kashmiri Mazoomatt*, pp. 25, 38. Hasan, p. 247. Suka has given a gruesome account of the horrors of the famine and fire. It is stated by him that men became cannibal and cooked the flesh of their children (Suka, pp. 395-96). A similar account has been narrated by Xavier who visited Kashmir in 1589 with Akbar during the days of famine.
214. H.M., f.142b; See, Beverdige, p. 36 (J.A.S.B., LVII, Father Jerome Xavier).
215. H.M., f. 142b; *A.A.*, p. 534, n. 228; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 751.
216. *B.S.*, f.137a; H.M. f.139a; Hasan, p. 244.
217. *B.S.*, f.137a; H.M., f.139a; Baba Daud, ff. 130a-b.
218. *B.S.*, f.134b.
219. Ibid; Azam, p. 153; Rafi-ud-Din, p. 88; J.A.S.B., 1888, p. 269.

220. *B.S.*, f. 134 b; Azam, p. 153.
221. H.M., f. 142b; *B.S.*, f. 134-b; *A.A.* (Blochmann), p. 651, n. 2; Hasan, p. 244, Rafi-ud-Din, p. 87 sqq.
222. *H.M.*, f. 140-a.
223. *H.M.*, f. 136 a-b; Azam, p. 153.
224. *B.S.*, f. 19a; Mohibbul Hasan, p. 251.
225. *Suka*, p. 394; H.M., 141b.
226. *B.S.*, f. 138 a; Baba Daud Khaki, p. 130.

3

Yusuf Shah's First Reign and the Period of Interregnum

Probem of Succession

The sudden death of Ali Shah was followed by a war of succession between his son Prince Yusuf and his brother Abdal Chak. No doubt, Ali Shah died without nominating his successor but it is evident from the accounts of chroniclers, that he wished Prince Yusuf to succeed him and that is why the nobles and the Ulema too favoured his succession.[1]

As the news of Ali Shah's death reached Abdal, he decided to attend the cremation of his brother. But his wife, Afifa Khatoon and his son Habib, opposed him, for they did not trust Yusuf on account of his part in the assassination of Aiba Chak.[2] They were also afraid that the nobles would induce him to perform the coronation of Yusuf there.[3] Abdal, therefore, sent his messenger Jahangir Lon to Yusuf with the words to give up the idea of ascending the throne, for under the Chak royal tradition, brother had been succeeding brother.[4] Yusuf, realising the sinister motive of his uncle, thought it advisable to avert the hostilities on the day of mourning. Thereupon, he sent his three envoys, Sayyid Mubarak, Baba Khalil, and Muhammad Bat to him with the request to attend the burial of his brother first and then take up the issue of succession to the throne.[5] The envoys had a meeting with

Abdal at his residence. They advised him to attend the funeral procession and assured him of his safety. They also tried to persuade him not to contest for the throne, for Yusuf had a better claim than anyone else.[6] But all their attempts to convince Abdal proved fruitless. He was adamant in his decision to die like a hero rather than to submit.[7]

The unyielding attitude of Abdal was highly resented by the envoys who returned furious and prepared Yusuf for a battle against his uncle. Thus keeping the deceased body of Ali Shah in the Jami Masjid at Srinagar, a huge army was organised into three divisions by Sayyid Mubarak, with an advance guard under Muhammad Khan, the centre under himself, and the rear under Prince Yusuf.[8] Hearing this, Abdal who was already fully armed, moved out to Nauhatta, a locality in Srinagar. He began with an attack on the advance guard. Meanwhile Sayyid Mubarak also reached there with a force of three thousand cavalry and fell on his enemy. The royalists were in high spirits. Abdal tried to dispel the fear of his soldiers by retaliating with equal vigour, but in the midst of the fight an arrow from Abul Maali's bow struck him. Simultaneously, he was attacked by Sayyid Mubarak, who pushed him down from the elephant with his lance, and a soldier named Husain chopped off his head on the spot.[9] Seeing Abdal dead, all his force dispersed, while his son Habib fled away from the battlefield. He was swiftly pursued by Mubarak's son, Sayyid Jalal, but while fleeing, Habib shot an arrow from the running horse killing Sayyid Jalal. Habib Chak escaped successfully.[10] After this glorious success Yusuf, who was in the rear, visited the battlefield for inspection. He recognised the dead body of his uncle and forbade its burial. But Qazi Musa, who had earlier escaped execution in the time of Husain Shah, defied the order and buried it in his ancestral graveyard the same day.[11]

The next day, Yusuf after performing the cremation rites of his father Ali Shah and Mubarak's son Jalal, ascended the throne.[12] He assumed the title of Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Yusuf Ghazi Badshah[13] and had the coins struck and Khutba read out in his own name.[14] The common Muslim practice of medieval rulers that kingship knows no kingship was repeated by the Chaks here.

Early Measures

Soon after Yusuf's accession to the throne, Sayyid Mubarak, who was greatly run down on account of the loss of his youthful son Sayyid Jalal, returned from the active duty and offered the services of his three sons, Abdul Maali, Ibrahim, and Husain to the new King. Yusuf Shah took them into his service and appointed Muhammad Bat his Wazir.[15]

The king distributed costly gifts and presents among his people to make them forget the wounds of the battle. He ordered the abolition of various taxes which the earlier Sultans of the Shahmiri dynasty had levied on ferrymen and citizens.[16] Forced labour (Begar) was also abolished.[17] But he could not rule for more than two and a half months for he was called upon to abdicate the throne on account of a serious rising.[18]

Conspiracy against Yusuf Shah

Despite Yusuf's efforts to consolidate his position, discontentment began to mount among the nobles who were critical of his rise to the throne. His own cousin Lohar Chak was the first to raise disturbance for he had borne in mind the idea of usurping the throne.[19] Another noble Abdal Bat, the brother of Muhammad Bat was also not happy with the king for not being elevated to the position of Wazir. He was therefore bent upon taking revenge.[20]

The two disaffected nobles joined their hands together and organised a conspiracy to depose the king and install Sayyid Mubarak in his place.[21] Joined by many other nobles like Shams Chak, Ali Chak and Nauroz Chak, the rebels destroyed the city bridges at the mid-night of June, 1579,[22] and fled to solicit the co-operation of Sayyid Mubarak. Since the latter had already withdrawn from state politics, and had certain regard for Ali Shah Chak, he advised the rebels to abandon their refractory attitude. But when he learnt about the destruction of city bridges, he at once came out in the plain of Idgah and sent Baba Khalil to Yusuf Shah requesting him to forgive the insurgents.[23] But the messenger was returned with a blunt reply by the king to hand over the insurgents for

punishment. It was an unwise measure, for he did not even trust Sayyid Mubarak, who had always been a well wisher of the Chaks. Sayyid Mubarak took Yusuf's intransigence as both an affront and direct challenge and, as a result, he joined the rebels.[24] Thereupon, Malik Naji and many other sensible nobles, who were conscious of the Sayyid's influential position in the kingdom, advised Yusuf Shah either to do something to win over the rebels to his side or to purchase the support of the people by distributing money.[25] But owing to lack of diplomacy, the inexperienced king exhibited his hostile attitude towards the rebels and sent a force under Muhammad Khan against Sayyid Mubarak and himself proceeded to the field of Zalidgarh.[26] Despite the request of Sayyid Mubarak to avoid bloodshed, the royalists attacked him. But they lacked discipline and were defeated. Their leader, Muhammad Khan and many other generals like Qasim Khan and Husain Khan lost their lives. The total loss on both sides was about three hundred men.[27]

The defeat caused much panic in the royal army and, while some escaped to join Yusuf Shah at Zalidgarh, a good number of them submitted before Sayyid Mubarak.[28] The miraculous defeat befogged Yusuf Shah and he became pensive. Seeing him in a precarious position, many rebels decided to capture him, but Sayyid Mubarak refrained them from their malignant intentions.[29] He proved more generous and forgave Yusuf Shah when the latter begged pardon through Mulla Hasan Aswad, the tutor of his father Ali Shah. He further advised him to leave Kashmir along with treasury for some months and assured him that he would be recalled and crowned as soon as the atmosphere would be congenial for him.[30] As a proof of his perpetual allegiance for Yusuf Shah, he sent back his envoy Mulla Aswad accompanied with his own son and Baba Khalil. Relying upon his words, Yusuf Shah deposited his treasury and other necessary articles in the house of his cousin Ali Chak and left the insignia of royalty in favour of Sayyid Mubarak. He then betook himself to the territory of the Khasas.[31]

The change in the political set up revived the old political jingling in Kashmir which was very common before the Chak

rule. The departure of Yusuf Shah prompted various political groups to begin preparations to occupy the throne.

Rise and Fall of Sayyid Mubarak

With the banishment of Yusuf Shah, the throne of Kashmir remained unoccupied for four days. The trouble-mongers who had ousted Yusuf also disfavoured the accession of Sayyid Mubarak.[32] Ali Chak,[33] a cousin of Yusuf Shah, was the first to start disturbance and being proud of the royal treasury which Yusuf Shah had deposited in his house, he disobliged to meet Sayyid Mubarak despite the latter's requests.[34] Seeing the seditious elements getting momentum in the kingdom, the nobles declared Sayyid Mubarak the king and requested him to wear the crown in 1580.[35] This was done only because keeping the throne vacant might have endangered peace and security of the kingdom. The new king could rule only for a few months and was forced to abdicate by Lohar Chak and Abdul Bat.

Internal Crisis

An internal crisis in the kingdom was caused by the diplomatic manipulations of Abdal Bat who had withdrawn his sympathies from the Chak house. He had already played an evil part in banishing Yusuf Shah, for not having been elevated to the position of Wizarat by the latter.[36] Now, unable to attain the post of Wizarat under the new king, the ambitious noble again decided to expatriate him.[37] Joined by many other untrustworthy nobles, he exploited the succession of Sayyid Mubarak tactfully and declared it to be the incompetence of the Chak nobles. Many Chak nobles also took the rise of Sayyid Mubarak as a great threat to their regal authority. So they wrote a letter to Yusuf Shah with a humble petition to come back and occupy the throne.[38] On the receipt of this message, Yusuf Shah who had stationed himself at Rajauri, descended to Barbal,[39] with his followers who had lately joined him there.[40] When Sayyid Mubarak came to know of this treachery, he at once moved out to Satpat[41] and

hurriedly sent his messenger Baba Daud Mir to Yusuf Shah with the peace proposals and advised him not to trust the disloyal nobles.[42] Thereupon, Yusuf Shah decided to continue friendly relations with Sayyid Mubarak and in token of surety he sent his son, Yaqub with Mirza Ibrahim and Mulla Hasan Aswad and returned Daud Mir with the words that he (Yusuf) was coming to meet Sayyid Mubarak.[43] But before the two could meet, Abdal Bat who was scheming against Sayyid Mubarak, successfully foiled the peaceful negotiations between the two by sending message of loyalty to Yusuf Shah warning him not to trust Mubarak's words or meet him [44] Yusuf Shah at this time was acting foolishly and, without assessing the situation correctly, he broke off the talks with Sayyid Mubarak and challenged him for a battle.[45] Sayyid Mubarak was startled by this development. He at once descended to the outer hills and attacked the enemy. The two commanders of the Yusuf Shah, Gada Beg Turkman and Baz Khan, were killed in the battle. Dhangi Mir was imprisoned and Naji Raina, who had stationed at Baruwel,[46] was burnt alive along with his partymen when they came in clash with the soldiers of Sayyid Mubarak.[47] Yusuf Shah, seeing no way of excuse, fled back to Barbal with few men, while Sayyid Mubarak returned triumphant to the capital.[48]

Diplomacy of Abdal

Abdal Bat, who had successfully foiled the peaceful negotiations between Yusuf Shah and Sayyid Mubarak by his cunning diplomacy, made another plan to overthrow Sayyid Mubarak, for he was still in power. He treacherously poisoned the ears of Sayyid Mubarak against Yusuf Shah's cousin, Ali Chak, by telling that he was inviting Yusuf Shah from exile and was conspiring to seize the throne. He further induced him to imprison Ali Chak, till he recovered from bad health.[49] Beguiled by his talks, Sayyid Mubarak summoned Ali Chak through Abdal Bat and imprisoned him in his own house. Abdal Bat, who had carried this plan successfully, now incited the Chak nobles against Sayyid Mubarak and warned them that, like Ali Chak, their lives too were in danger. Thus, with

his deceitful machinations, he incited the spirit of revenge among the Chaks to such a high pitch of frenzy, that the whole of the Chak community turned its venom against Sayyid Mubarak. They again sent an invitation letter to Yusuf and prepared themselves for revolt with full enthusiasm.[50]

In order to hasten the crisis, Abdal Bat spread a rumour in September, 1580[51] that Yusuf Shah was coming to the city and raised the banner of rebellion against Sayyid Mubarak.[52]

Hearing about the incivility of Abdal Bat and perfidious designs of the Chak nobles Sayyid Mubarak, though in bad health, released Ali Chak and marched against the rebels. He encamped in the plain of Idgah and sent from there Muhammad Padre with a challenge to Abdal Bat for a personal combat.[53] As Abdal Bat knew that he was no match to Mubarak in his personal valour and prowess, he decided upon a ruse.[54] He sent a message to Sayyid Mubarak that the rebels were anxious for peaceful negotiations in the hospice of Baba Khalil, and the only cause of resentment was Ali Chak's imprisonment. On getting this message, Sayyid Mubarak held an immediate council of his advisors, who suggested him not to adhere to Abdal's mockery. But he turned dismayed when Ali Chak fled to join the rebels. Ali Chak was followed by many other nobles. Sayyid Mubarak therefore prepared for the peaceful negotiations[55] but owing to his bad health he remained waiting there till Abdal Bat sent Haidar Chak who honourably brought him in a boat to the hospice of Baba Khalil. Ali Chak, who had already reached there, was imprisoned,[56] while Sayyid Mubarak was forced to abdicate in favour of Lohar Chak, son of Shankar Chak.[57] Immediately after Mubarak's abdication Abdal Bat sent his son to Yusuf Shah with the request that as the events had turned turtle, it would be better for him to return to his hiding place.[58] Yusuf Shah was disgusted with the mischievous conduct of the Chak nobles and went to invoke the help of Emperor Akbar.[59]

Estimate of Sayyid Mubarak

The rise of Sayyid Mubarak to power was a result of his audacity. His powerful family had fallen on evil days since they

were defeated by the Kashmiris in 1484. But Sayyid Mubarak had been able to regain the lost position under the Chaks. He served as a Wazir under Ghazi Shah[60] and Ali Shah and it was due to his judicious inducement and wisdom that harsh punishments were deleted from the criminal code of the State.[61]

He was indifferent to the worldly pomp and grandeur and, despite his dilly-dally, he was unanimously chosen by the nobles for the throne of Kashmir. His reign of six months was packed with many remarkable and novel features for which he occupies a special place in the history of medieval Kashmir.

His reign was remarkable for its religious toleration and humanism. Clad in a simple dress Sayyid Mubarak ascended the throne and refrained from striking coins and reading out Khutba in his name.[62] He broke the royal crown which was studded with pears, sapphire and rubies etc. and distributed it among his poor subjects.[63] He threw open the doors of justice to all irrespective of caste, colour and creed.[64] He was resolute, and a man of firm determination. He had profound knowledge of Islamic Fiqh, Shariat, and Sunna. No other king of Kashmir stands comparison with Mubarak's modesty and simplicity. His judicial reforms and strict sense of justice deserve appreciation.

He remained loyal to the Chak house thoughout his life and was finally sent as captive to Delhi by Qasim Khan, a Mughal general.[65] When Akbar sent Yusuf Rizvi for the final annexation of Kashmir, Sayyid Mubarak was ordered to act as guide of the Mughal army. But, on his refusal, he was sent to Shah Baz Kambu in Bengal where he died after one year in 1589.[66] He left behind him two sons, Miran Sayyid Ibrahim and Sayyid Abul Maali, while the other two, Sayyid Husain and Sayyid Jalal, were already killed in fightings.

Lohar Shah Chak

Abdal Bat, who had successfully manoeuvred to overthrow Sayyid Mubarak, elevated Lohar Chak, son of Shankar Chak to the throne. The new king assumed the title of Badai-ud-Din Lohar Shah[67] and, in a traditional manner, read out the Khutba and struck the coins in his own name.[68] Abdal Bat

received the coveted office of Wizarat for which he had created so much of chaos and confusion in the kingdom.[69] The king was a mere puppet in the hands of his Wazir or, 'a mere holder of the title and khutba'.[70] Abdal Bat had already imprisoned his rival Ali Chak and informed Yusuf Shah not to come to Srinagar. He started a policy of consolidation to strengthen his position. He won to his side many disaffected nobles by appointing them on good posts,[71] while a number of them including Shams Chak and Alam Sher Khan, who were unhappy with the new developments in Kashmir, fled to join Yusuf Shah who was on his way to Akbar's court.[72]

Lohar Shah ruled for about nine months which was remarkable for economic prosperity and the administration of justice.[73] We learn from the accounts of Persian chroniclers that the king made food abundant and cheap. The price of Shali fell so low that a Kharwar[74] cost only a copper coin weighing 1½ tola,[75] and upto this day the term "Loharmund" (Large loof of bread) commemorates the era of economic abundance, the Kashmir had seen in the reign of Lohar Shah.

To add to the economic prosperity, the king took keen interest in the administration of justice. He was accessible to all and every one was equal before his court of law.[76] For his generosity and sense of justice, he has been compared with Nau Shervan-i-Adil by the Persian historian Haidar Malik.[77]

Restoration of Yusuf Shah

Yusuf Shah, after his banishment, as already discussed, stationed at Baruwel near Rajauri for about six months. But when he came to know about the rise of Lohar Shah to the throne he lost all hopes of regaining it without foreign aid. He, therefore, decided to invoke the help of Emperor Akbar. He prudently went by the Jammu route and took protection at Lahore under Raja Man Singh and Mirza Yusuf Khan who successfully conducted him to the court of Emperor Akbar in 1580.[78] Akbar, who was eager to annex the Kashmir kingdom and had since long been looking for such an opportunity, received the fugitive, Yusuf Shah, cordially and decided to use

GEANEALOGY TABLE

SAYYID DYNASTY UNDER THE CHAK RULE

Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi

|

Sayyid Ibrahim Baihaqi

|

Sayyid Mubarak Baihaqi

|

(Mubarak served as Wazir under Ghazi Shah Chak and Ali Shah Chak. He also ruled Kashmir for six months in the year 1680 A.D.)

|

Sayyid Abul Maali (Abul Maali married the daughter of Ali Shah	Sayyid Ibrahim (He died in Kashmir in	Sayyid Jalal (He died fighting in the war of succession	Sayyid Husain (Died in Srinagar in the service of

Chak and remained devoted to the Chak house till his death. He served Yusuf Shah Chak and Yaqub Shah in exile in Biswak (Bihar) and died there. He is burried in Biswak near the grave of Yaqub Shah Chak).	the service of the Chak kings).	between Prince Yusuf and his uncle Abdal Chak in 1579 A.D. Yusuf managed to cremate his dead body with great honour).	the Chaks).

him as a tool for his own advantage.[79] He ordered his two Punjab Generals, Man Singh and Mirza Yusuf, to carry the exiled king on the throne of Kashmir. Thus, after a stay of about eleven months at the court of Akbar, Yusuf Shah marched on Kashmir escorted by the Mughal auxiliary troops.[80] In order to win the favour of his old adherents and to get the reports of political developments in Kashmir, he sent in advance his son, Yaqub Chak.[81]

When Yusuf Shah reached Lahore with the Mughal force, he got disgusted, because he smell the ill-intentions of the Mughal Generals. He realised that he would be carried to the throne as a Mughal nominee and would be forced to execute in his kingdom the Mughal rules and regulations which might lower his position in the estimation of his subjects.[82] Meanwhile, he received secret letters of allegiance from many Kashmiri nobles including Abdal Bat, with the request to come alone and occupy the throne.[83] Yusuf Shah, therefore, decided to go ahead without employing the Mughal force.[84] He became more firm in his conviction when he came to know about the arrival of Muhammad Bat, his loyal Wazir, to Buhlulpur with one thousand soldiers.[85] Consequently, he at once bade adieu to the Mughal Generals and came to Buhlulpur under the pretext of meeting his son and enquiring about the political developments in Kashmir.[86] It was here that Yusuf Shah and Muhammad Bat finally resolved not to employ the Mughal force in this endeavour.[87] And later when Emperor Akbar came to know of Yusuf's treachery, he turned furious and reprimanded his Generals for missing such a golden opportunity.[88] The news of Yusuf Shah's arrival at Buhlulpur spread like a wild fire and all the Sirdars and amirs including Lohar Shah and Abdal Bat, who had beguiled him, turned pensive, while a number of them fled to join Yusuf Shah.[89]

Yusuf's March on Kashmir

In the beginning of November 1580, Yusuf Shah marched from Buhlulpur without informing the Mughal Generals at Lahore.[90] On his march to Srinagar, he was joined by a number of Kashmiri nobles and soldiers and his force had risen

to four thousand cavalry and two thousand soldiers.[91] From Buhlulpur, Yusuf Shah came direct to Rajauri and sent his family to the fort of Poonch and himself encamped at Naushehra.[92] On getting this news, Abdal Bat, the fickle-minded Wazir of Lohar Shah, prepared to put up a stiff resistance to Yusuf Shah and with a huge force came out of the city and stationed at Hirapura.[93] From there he despatched an advance force under his two generals Husain and Yusuf to intercept the march of the invaders who were still at Naushehra. The two generals in consultation with each other joined Yusuf Shah along with their forces.[94] Hearing of this news, many other nobles also deserted Abdal Bat and came down to welcome Yusuf Shah.[95] Before his march on Srinagar, Yusuf Shah sent his messenger to Sayyid Mubarak and won his favour.[96] He then marched to Rajauri and its Raja Rai Bahadur submitted before him. Yusuf Shah made him the commander of the vanguard.[97] At Thana Mandi, Yusuf Shah was joined by another group of Kashmiri nobles, including Hasan Malik and Daud Chak.[98] The number of Yusuf's force was increasing at every step. He reached Sopore on 5th November and was joined there by his son Yaqub, the same day.[99]

Battle of Sopore (November, 1580)

Yusuf Shah reached Sopore without any mishap and sent from there a message to Abdal Bat to submit in good faith. But the latter remained adamant since he was joined by Lohar Shah and Ali Chak and the confederacy of the three decided to give a fight to Yusuf Shah.[100]

Yusuf Shah at once annexed the surrounding territories of Sopore and destroyed the city bridges.[101] Abdal Bat also came there with a huge army but, finding the bridges destroyed, he stationed on the opposite bank of the river Jehlum.[102] Owing to the great depth of the river, the two forces could not clash face to face but showered arrows over each other for some days. Finally, Abdal Bat under a scheme despatched a force of 2,000 under Haidar Chak to attack Yusuf Shah in the rear via Khuyahoma.[103] On that very day, he directed his brother

Ali Bat to cross the river and engage the enemy in the battle.[104] Meanwhile, he called Baba Khalil from Roba Bazi[105] and sent a message to Yusuf Shah that the men who had rallied for his support were disloyal and before he would be attacked both from the front and the rear and defeated, he should leave Kashmir via Poonch and save his life.[106] Yusuf Shah, who was well familiar with the deceitful ways of Abdal Bat, paid no heed to his message and arranged his army quickly, keeping his troops both on the right and the left sides, musketeers in the front and himself in the centre, he crossed the river where the water was shallow and attacked Abdal Bat on the 8th morning of November 1580.[107] After a horrible contest, Abdal Bat fell dead when Yusuf threw a poisoned spear at him. The incident disarrayed his whole force and Lohar Shah, who had lately joined him with a huge force, was unable to withstand the onslaughts and fled away demitting the royal parasol in the battlefield.[108] When Haider Chak who was coming in the rear, received the news of disaster he got demoralized and escaped via Chirhara, leaving the whole force behind to disperse.[109]

Thus, with the flag of victory wavering high in the air, Yusuf Shah marched to occupy the throne. He was given a warm reception with congratulations by the Kashmiris at Barthana.[110] He mounted the throne for the second time in November 1580 after an exile of a year and a half.[111]

Lohar Shah's defeat in the battle of Sopore had its own causes. Firstly, the two forces did not fight jointly, rather they faced Yusuf Shah dividedly, nor did they make use of Haidar Chak, who was coming in the rear. The division of Abdal's force into three groups proved advantageous for Yusuf Shah, Abul Fazl comments : "As the flower of his army had gone off to the other place, Yusuf Khan (Yusuf Shah) took him at disadvantage and on 8th November 1580, crossed Baht (Jehlum) and dispersed the opposing forces without a serious engagement."[112] Secondly, the typical temperament of Abdal had alienated the sympathies of all his generals and, consequently, they joined Yusuf Shah. Thirdly, Yusuf Shah, while in exile, had learnt a lot and forgotten nothing. He marched on

Kashmir prudently and overawed his rivals by sheer superiority.

REFERENCES

1. Baba Daud, ff. 130a-b; *B.S.* f. 139a; H.M., f. 143a.
2. *B S.*, f. 136a.
3. H.M., f. 142b; Suka, p. 396.
4. H.M., f. 143a.
5. Ibid., *B.S.*, f. 139a.
6. *B.S.*, f. 139a; H.M. f. 143a; Hasan, p. 248.
7. *B.S.*, f. 139a.
8. *B.S.*, f. 140b; Hasan, p. 248. Firishta (p. 524) and Nizam-ud-Din (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 753) wrongly writes that Sayyid Mubarak, who was on unhappy terms with Abdal, was responsible to accentuate this conflict. Dr. Parmu has also followed the two historians (pp. 261-63).
9. *B.S.*, f. 140b; H.M., f. 143b.
10. *B.S.*, f. 140b; H.M., f. 143b; Rafi-ud-Din, p. 96. The anonymous author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* has given in detail the exploits of Baihaqi Sayyids. Much of it seems to be an exaggeration of facts (ff. 140b-141b).
11. *B.S.*, ff. 141a-b; H M., ff. 144a-b. According to Abul Fazl, Abdal was killed by a bullet (*A.N.*, III, p. 408). Mohibbul Hasan has followed him (p. 162).
12. *B.S.*, f. 141b.
13. Coin No. 26, Pt. II (J.A.S.B. 1885, Rodgers, p. 129); R.C. Kak, p. 139.
14. *B.S.*, f. 142b; Suka 896.
15. *B.S.*, f. 142b; Suka 896. According to Sufi, Sayyid Mubarak resigned from the post of Wizarat owing to Yusuf's loose morals and licentiousness (I, p. 527).
16. H.M., f. 151b.
17. Ibid; Rafi-ud-Din, p. 96. Ghazi Shah Chak was the first king who gave many concessions to the cultivators in the practice of forced labour in Kashmir (A.A., p. 90).
18. H M., f. 151b; Birbal, p. 87.
19. Suka, p. 397; *B.S.*, f. 143a. According to Firishta, Yusuf Shah ruled only for forty days (p. 524). See also *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 753.
20. *B.S.*, f. 143a; H.M., f. 144a.
21. *B.S.*, f. 143a. According to Haidar Malik, Yusuf's debaucheries and licentiousness prompted the nobles to dethrone him (ff. 144a-b),
22. *B.S.*, f. 143b; H.M., Ibid.
23. *B.S.*, f. 143b.

24. Ibid.
25. H.M., f. 144b.
26. H.M., f. 145a; *B.S.*, f. 144b; Suka, p. 398.
27. H.M., f. 145a. The anonymous author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* has given a comprehensive account of this battle (ff. 145a-b).
28. *B.S.*, ff. 146a-b; H.M., f. 145b.
29. H.M., f. 145b. We learn from the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* that Yusuf Shah was in such a critical position at this time that he could have easily been captured by the rebellious soldiers (ff. 146a-b).
30. *B.S.*, ff. 147a-b.
31. Suka, p. 430; Lawrence, p. 193. The anonymous author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* writes that Yusuf Shah left for Rajauri (ff. 147a-b). 'Khasas' were the people occupying the hill territories of Lohara and Rajauri (Stein, II, p. 430).
32. *B.S.*, f. 148a.
33. Abul Fazl wrongly writes Ali Chak as Yusuf Chak (*A.N.*, III, p 408).
34. *B.S.*, f. 148b.
35. *B.S.* ff. 149a-b; Suka, p. 397. According to Abul Fazl, soon after the defeat of Yusuf Shah, Sayyid Mubarak and many other nobles decided that Yusuf, (Yusuf Shah's cousin) should be made the king. But he declined out of foresightedness (*A.N.*, III, p. 408). This account has not been supported by any local chronicler of Kashmir.
36. See p. 97 supra.
37. *B.S.*, ff. 140a-b.
38. Ibid; H.M., f. 146b; Hasan, p. 254.
39. Barbal is the name of tower on Tosamaidan in Rajauri (Stein, II, p. 399).
40. *B.S.*, 149b; H.M., f. 146b.
41. 'Satpat' or Sarikaparvata and now it is called Haraparvat in Srinagar (Stein, II, p. 446). See also Raj. III, pp. 339-346.
42. *B.S.*, f. 149b.
43. *B.S.*, f. 150a; Hasan, p. 254.
44. *B.S.*, f. 150a.
45. *B.S.*, f. 150a.
46. At the mouth of Kankan-nai valley and about three Km. to N.E. of Ciramocana, is the helmet of 'Baruwel' which Kalhana mentions as an Agratra of King *Jalanka* under the name of 'Varabala' (Stein, II, p. 490) and (*R.T.*, n.i., p. 121).
47. *B.S.*, ff. 151a-b.
48. Ibid. Haidar Malik writes Kashmir nobles took the route of deceit and backed out of their promises when Sayyid Mubarak despatched soldiers against Yusuf Shah. He fled to Katal (near Rajauri) without giving a fight (f. 147a).
49. *B.S.*, ff. 151a-b; *A.N.*, III, p. 409.

50. *B.S.*, ff. 155a-b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 734; Rodgers, p. 136; *A.N.*, III, p. 409.
51. *B.S.*, f. 152b.
52. *B.S.*, f. 153a; Hasan, p. 286.
53. *B.S*, f. 153a.
54. Ibid.
55. *B.S.*, pp. 154, 155
56. *B.S.*, ff. 156a-b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 755.
57. *B.S.*, ff. 156a-b; *A.N.*, p. 409. According to Haidar Malik, Sayyid Mubarak sent the royal crown and Chattar to Lohar without himself coming to the hospice of Baba Khalil (f. 147a). The anonymous author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* has related a touching story about the abdication of Sayyid Mubarak (p. 156).
58. *B.S.*, f. 156b.
59. Ibid , f. 157a; H.M., f. 147a.
60. *B.S.*, f. 123a.
61. Ibid., f. 134a.
62. Ibid., f. 149a; Hasan, p. 253.
63. *B.S.*, f. 149a.
64. Ibid.
65. *A.N.*, III, p. 787.
66. *B.S.*, f. 190a.
67. Coin No. 38, Pt. III (J.A.S.B. 1885, Rodgers, p. 136). According to Rodgers statement, the coin No. 38, bears neither the word Lohar nor Gauhar, but some name ending in 'Ann' a letter in Persian alphabet and 'ud-Din'. Perhaps, the name is 'Badai-ud-Din (the out strippers of the others in religion), is a new title in Kashmir History. It is the name or title of Lohar Shah Chak assumed on ascending the throne (p. 136).
68. *B.S.*, f. 157a; *A.A.*, p. 479.
69. *B.S.*, f. 157a; *A.A.*, p. 479.
70. *A.A.*, p. 47a; *B.S.*, f. 1579a.
71. *B.S.*, f. 153b.
72. Ibid.
73. H.M., f. 149b; Azam, p. 162.
74. One Kashmiri Kharwar was equal to three maunds and eight seers of the Mughal Shahi weight (*Tuzuk*, I, p. 143). According to Stein, the average price of a Kharwar under the Chaks was ascertained to be 29 Dams (i.e. 2900 Dinnars), p. 325. For identification of Dam's value, see Stein, II, p. 309 Sqq.
75. H.M., f. 149b; Azam, p. 162; Birbal; ff. 88a-b; Narayan Kaul, f. 69a.
76. H.M., f. 491b; Newal, p. 427.
77. H.M., f. 149b.
78. *B.S.*, f. 157a; H.M., f. 147a; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 756.
79. A.N., III, p, 409. The anonymous chronicler writes that Emperor

Akbar presented Yusuf Shah two ladies (*B.S.*, f. 153). This is wrong because no Mughal historian has written like this.

80. *A.N.*, iii, p. 465; *A.A.*, p. 535; Firishta, p. 526. According to Haidar Malik, Yusuf remained at the court of Akbar petitioning for help but the Emperor denied and agreed for the same at some different occasion (f. 147b). It is wrong to accept Haidar Malik as correct. He has probably been confused because Yusuf re-annexed Kashmir without utilising the Mughal force.
81. Firishta, p. 526; *Tabaqat.*, p. 756.
82. *B.S.*, f. 158a; H.M., f. 147b; *A.N.*, iii, p. 465.
83. *B.S.*, f. 158a; H.M., f, 147b.
84. H.M., f. 147b; B.S., f. 158a; Azam, p. 163, Birbal, p. 89.
85. *B S.*, f. 158a. According to Haidar Malik, Yusuf Shah who returned disheartened from the court of Akbar, borrowed a huge sum of money from the merchants of Lahore and raised a force of 800 soldiers and marched to Bahlulpur (f. 147b). But this account is not correct because no merchant could have dared to incur the displeasure of Mughal Generals for the exiled Yusuf Shah. Mohibbul Hasan has also followed Haidar Malik and added further that Muhammad Bat joined him at Lahore (p. 166).
86. *B.S.*, f. 158a. It is mentioned in *Ain-i-Akbari* that the Mughal forces accompanied Yusuf Shah upto Pinjor (p. 535), while Nizam-ud-Din writes that they came upto Sialkot (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 756). But, in fact, the forces remained waiting for Yusuf at Lahore.
87. *B.S.*, f. 158a; *A.N.*, III, p. 465.
88. *B.S.*, f. 158a; *A.N.*, III, p. 465; Hasan, p. 258.
89 *B.S.*, f. 158a; *A.N.*, III, p. 465.
90. *B.S.*, f. 158a; *A.N.*, III, p. 465.
91. H.M., f. 148a.
92. *B.S.*, f. 158b. Firishta (p. 526) and Nizam-ud-Din (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 756) write the name differently, Wali Nakh and Thatta respectively.
93. *B.S.*, f. 158b; Firishta, p. 526.
94. *B.S.*. f. 158b. Haidar Malik writes that the advance force under Husain and Yusuf fought against invaders at Naushehra and faced reverse. He does not write anything further about the two generals (f. 148a-b).
95. *B.S.*, f. 158b; H.M., ff. 148a-b.
96. *B.S.*, f. 159a.
97. H.M , f. 148b. Azam (p. 164) has confused Raja Bahadur Singh of Kishtwar, the father-in-law of Yaqub Shah, with Raja Rai Bahadur of Rajauri and therefore wrongly writes that Raja of Kishtwar submitted before Yusuf Shah.
98. H.M., f. 148b.
99. *B.S.*, 160a.
100. H.M., f. 148b; *B.S.*, f. 160a.

101. *B.S.*, ff. 160a-b; Suka, p. 397; H.M., f. 148a.
102. *B.S.*, ff. 16a-b; H.M., f. 148a.
103. 'Khuyahoma', a semicircle district, is on the north shore of the Wular Lake (Stein II, p. 488).
104. *B.S.*, ff. 161a-b.
105. 'Roba Bazi' is identified with 'Razul', now known as Panth, as the site of one of the traditional sources of the Vitasta (Stein, II, p. 470).
106. *B.S.*, ff. 161a-b.
107. *A.N.*, III, p. 465.
108. *B.S.*, ff. 162a, 163a; Suka, p. 398. According to Haidar Malik, Abdal Bat was killed by Yusuf's general, Hasan Chak (f. 149a).
109. *B.S.*, f. 164b; Hasan, p. 261.
110. 'Barthana is a village about 11 miles (about 18 Km.) N.W. of Srinagar on the road connecting Srinagar with Gulmarg.
111. *B.S.*, f. 164; *A.N.*, p. 465. The anonymous author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* that the flower of Yusuf Shah came to gloom while Abdal Bat was uprooted by Yusuf (f. 164b).
112. *A.N.*, III, p. 465.

4

Yusuf Shah's Second Reign

(1580--1586 A.D.)

After an exile of a year and a half, Yusuf Shah re-established himself on the throne in November, 1580,[1] and re-appointed Muhammad Bat his Wazir in recognition of his loyalty and faithfulness.[2] He renewed his family relations with Sayyid Mubarak and the latter's sons rejoined his service.[3] Yusuf took into his service Malik Haidar Chadura, the historian, who continued to serve him both in Kashmir and during the period of his exile in Bihar.[4]

Early Problems

The early problems of Yusuf Shah were many which required his immediate attention. At this time, about five thousand cavalry men of Lohar Shah had fled from the battlefield of Sopore. While many of them had concealed themselves in the city of Srinagar,[5] the rest fled to the surrounding villages Lohar Shah had also gone into hiding.[6] Hence the king could not undertake any risk as long as his position was not absolutely secure. This was his first and foremost problem. He could even apprehend mischief from the side of Lohar Shah's son, Haidar Chak, who had escaped without encounter at Sopore.[7] His immediate capture and punishment was essential before the disaffected nobles might rally to his support and create fresh disturbance. This was his second problem. Then, there were thousands of fugitives whom the king wanted to make ardent supporters of the crown.[8]

Early Measures

Yusuf Shah regarded himself as a custodian of the people and was willing to undertake anything conducive to their welfare. He decided to follow a policy of forgiveness for the little offenders and to punish their chief leaders according to Islamic law.[9] He deputed his agents in different parts of the capital to search out the fugitive king Lohar Shah and his followers. The mission was successfully carried out and Lohar Shah was found hiding himself in the house of Qazi Musa.[10] Keeping in view the Qazi's predominant position in the Sunni community, the king did not allow any ordinary man or spy to enter his premises. He, therefore, sent his two nobles, Khawaja Malik and Khawaja Sara, to his house.[11] In the beginning they could not find out Lohar Shah but, after a lengthy search, they were directed to the hiding place by the Qazi's old mother. They located and brounght him before Yusuf Shah.[12] His brother Muhammad Chak was also captured from the house of Sayyid Miran. The two other fugitive chiefs Hasi Chak and Beja Ghanai were discovered at Mamosa[13] in the house of a noble Yusuf Khan.[14] Likewise, many other chiefs who had taken shelter in the surrounding villages were traced out and presented before the king in Srinagar.[15] They were accused on four points by Yusuf Shah. Firstly, they had been treacherous and disloyal to king Yusuf in the past and had beguiled him under false pledges. Secondly, they had dishonoured Sayyid Mubarak by crowning and dethroning him. Thirdly, they joined Lohar Shah in spite of the fact that both Yusuf Shah and his father had treated them kindly and bestowed favours on them. And lastly, they called Yusuf Shah to Kashmir several times and on each occasion betrayed him and created a law and order problem in the kingdom. Under such circumstances, the king's pardon was out of question. He ordered their punishment according to the Shariat.[16] Lohar Chak, his brother Muhammad Chak, and Hazi Chak were blinded by gouging out their eyes with a needle.[17] Amputation was ordered for Beja Ganai, Fath Chak, and Husain Chak. Yusuf Lon and Ali Chak were condemned for their refractory actions and imprisoned for an indefinite period. Some prisoners were made to pay ransom. But a general

amnesty was granted to all soldiers who had joined Lohar Chak.[18]

Pursuit of Haidar Chak

After punishing the offenders, Yusuf Shah turned his attention towards Lohar Shah's son, Haidar Chak, who had not yet submitted. Yusuf Shah sent Lohar Qorchi with a small force to chastise him in Dardo where he had escaped with Shams Chak. Thereupon, both the fugitives fled to Pakhli, near Vankli, and shut up in the fort of Firoza. But they were pursued there by Lohar Qorchi and, while Shams Chak was captured with the assistance of the commandant incharge of the fort, Haidar Chak managed to escape to Lahore. Shams Chak was taken to Srinagar and blinded under the orders of Yusuf Shah.[19]

Administrative Activities

After completing the initial task of liquidating the offenders, Yusuf Shah divided his kingdom and separated the only three good jagirs for his son Yaqub Chak, Daulat Chak's son Shams, and Yusuf Kashmiri respectively and declared the rest as Khalisa.[20]

Next, he gave full attention to the administration of justice based on the principle of equality before law.[21] He abolished many taxes as he had done earlier. But the most remarkable measure that he adopted was the abolition of jaziya, the imposition of which no Muslim ruler of medieval Kashmir ever dared to stop.[22] In fact, Yusuf Shah was trying to establish a government after the Mughal pattern, but he failed in his efforts due to internal disturbances and external threats from the Mughal Emperor, Akbar.

Suppression of Revolts

Yusuf Shah's nobles soon began to show restiveness and started organising conspiracies against the king. It has been presumed by some historians that excessive inclination to voluptuous life had cost Yusuf Shah the throne earlier. When he regained the throne, he did not give up his habit and remained

indifferent to the affairs of state. Hence, the nobles again started disturbances.[23]

No doubt, Yusuf Shah spent much of his time in the company of singers and dancers.[24] For leading excessive luxurious life, his reign is still commemorated as 'Aish-i-Yusuf Shah.'[25] But this can hardly be held responsible for the uprisings. There were other reasons which caused disturbances in the kingdom. The first and foremost was the mischievous character of the nobility. They never hesitated to create disturbances in their self-interest. Then there were jagirdars who had never looked to the interests of their masters and rebelled whenever they found a king to be slack. Yusuf Shah's immediate enemies were the followers of Lohar Shah who were determined to take revenge and repeatedly organised revolts against him one after the other.[26]

Revolt of Shams Chak

Early in the year 1581, Shams Chak, son of Daulat Chak, who was given a jagir by Yusuf Shah began to conspire. In concert with other jagirdars like Alam Sher Khan, Sayyid Saif Khan and Mohammad Malik, he planned to overthrow Yusuf Shah under the pretext that the king had neglected the state affairs and was passing luxurious life in the palace.[27] Informed of this, Yusuf Shah at once seized them and locked in a prison.[28] After a short period of their imprisonment, they were set free on presenting a petition to the king. Alarmed at these developments, Habib Chak, who was also in league with the insurgents, fled to the village Kasir,[29] and started disturbances there. He was joined there by Shams Chak and Haidar Chak who had returned from Lahore. Shams Chak was despatched to Kamraj by Haidar Chak, to rise in rebellion there. But he was soon captured by the king and imprisoned, and despite the requests of Musa Alley, who was the friend of Prince Yaqub, Shams Chack was not released. At these developments, Yusuf Chak and Nauroz Chak, who were imprisoned in the house of Lohar Qorchi, managed to escape from there and joined Habib Chak at Kasir.[30]

All these insurgents decided to solicit the help of the Raja Bamaldi of Ladakh (1560-90).[31] Accordingly, they approached

the Ladakh Raja and secured from him the aid of about 5,000 horse.[32] When Yusuf Shah heard of this, he at once sent an army against the enemy. He also supplied arms to the inhabitants, wherefrom the enemy forces were descending in the valley. Hearing about the march of the royal troops, the insurgents were confounded with fear. Taking advantage of their slackness, some spies of Yusuf Shah joined them and sowed the seeds of internal dissensions among the rebel leaders. Thus, before, they could enter the valley, the differences were so much accentuated that the insurgents brought out swords against each other.[33] The Ladakhi commander seeing them divided withdrew without fighting. The Kashmiri rebel leaders in panic dispersed in different directions but many of them were seized. Ḥaidar Chak fled to Kishtwar to foment trouble there.[34] Habib Chak was caught at Sonawari (near Takhat-i-Sulaiman)[35] and Yusuf Chak was seized in the pargana of Barang. The other fugitive rebels were also pursued and captured at different places. All the rebel leaders were punished at Srinagar. Habib Chak's eyes were gouged out. Amputation of limbs was ordered for Yusuf Chak and Ali Chak by the king.[36] The life of Nauroz Chak, who was well versed in religious oblations, was spared by the king.[37]

Revolt of Wazir Muhammad Bat

In the beginning of the year 1582, Yusuf Shah was called upon to face another revolt led by his own Wazir Muhammad Bat. The cause of the uprising was that Muhammad Bat and Shams Duni were hostile to each other. The former always provoked Yusuf Shah against the latter. But on every occasion, Muhammad Bat received a cold reception,[38] probably because, the king did not want to interfere in the personal matter of the two nobles. Muhammad Bat got infuriated and planned to assassinate Yusuf Shah. He won to his side Yusuf Chak and tried to alienate Sayyid Mubarak's son from Yusuf Shah.[39] But the latter not only rebuffed him but also informed Yusuf Shah of the evil intentions of his Wazir. As the plot was discovered, Muhammad Bat fled with his followers from the capital. He was immediately pursued by Yusuf Shah and the Sayyid brothers and attacked in the way. Muhammad Bat's brother

Hasi Bat was seriously wounded, while the other rebels connected themselves in the caves of the mountains. But the royal forces surrounded the caves and captured Muhammad Bat along with his many followers. Some escaped to Kishtwar to join Haidar Chak there. Muhammad Bat was brought to Srinagar where he was thrown into the prison.[40]

Revolt of Prince Yaqub

Under such circumstances when the malcontents had created havoc in the kingdom, Prince Yaqub also revolted against his father, Yusuf Shah. In reality, he was instigated by the insurgents who wanted to disturb in the government so as to add to the anxieties of the king. Lacking in maturity, he came under their influence and went with Aiba Chak to Kishtwar. Yusuf Shah sent Mulla Hasan Aswad after them. Mulla Hasan tactfully won over Yaqub and brought him back to Srinagar. But Aiba Chak remained with Haidar Chak at Kishtwar owing to the fear of imprisonment.[41]

Revolt of Haidar Chak

Haidar Chak, who was at Kishtwar, was gathering strength day by day. All the disgruntled nobles were fleeing from Srinagar to join Haidar at Kishtwar. By the end of 1582, Shams Chak who was in prison also escaped along with ankles on his body and joined Haidar Chak.[42] Alarmed at these defections, Yusuf Shah came to Lar[43] and as a precautionary measure guarded the passes. He appointed Sher Ali and Naji Raina as Nayaks (guardians of the passes) in the district of Katal.[44] Meanwhile, Haidar Chak also marched on Srinagar with a force under two commandants Shams Chak and Aiba Chak. They made a night attack on the two Nayaks and killed Sher Ali. Naji Raina was captured alive and brought to Vaksm Kutum,[45] where they encamped.[46] At their initial success many Kashmiri soldiers of Yusuf Shah also joined the rebels. Thereupon, Yusuf Shah decided to march personally against the rebels. He sent an advance force under his son Yaqub and the two Sayyid brothers, Abdul Maali and Ibrahim. But the advance force was attacked by the rebels,

who had taken up their position in the caves of the mountains. The advance force was seized with panic and a large number of them fled to join the main army.[47] However, Yaqub Chak and the Sayyid brothers rallied the remaining soldiers and attacked the rebels. After a severe engagement, they defeated and dispersed the rebels despite their superiority in numbers.[48] Yusuf Shah reached the battlefield only after the victory had been achieved. He honoured the Sayyid brothers with Khilata (robes of honour) and granted jagirs in recognition of the valour and courage which they displayed in the battle. On the other side, the defeat convinced Shams Chak and Aiba Chak of the futility of resistance and so they decided to open negotiations with Yusuf Shah. Through the mediation of Raja Bahadur Singh of Kishtwar, they made overtures for peace to Yusuf Shah. Generous as he was, the king pardoned them and granted them the jagirs of Naushehra and Bhimbar.[49] Haidar Chak, a stubborn man, however did not surrender. Taking with him Yusuf Chak and Ali Chak, he left Kishtwar and went to Raja Man Singh at Lahore.[50]

Relation of Yusuf Shah with Man Singh

The relations between Yusuf Shah and Raja Man Singh had become inimical for the former had not employed, despite an agreement, the Mughal troops in the recovery of his throne. So, the disaffected Kashmiri noble Haidar Chak was received with honour by Man Singh. The Mughal officers, in fact, planned to use him as a pawn against Yusuf Shah.[51] When Yusuf Shah heard of the approach of Haidar Chak to Lahore, he became worried. He loaded Khawaja Qasim a rich trader, with precious gifts of Kashmir and sent him as his Vakil to Raja Man Singh to counteract the intrigues of Haidar Chak.[52] But Khawaja Qasim failed in his political mission. Raja Man Singh took him to be a stupid and mischievous Vakil. Instead of listening anything against Haidar Chak, Man Singh sent the former to the Imperial Darbar of Emperor Akbar where he was received with honour.[53] Khawaja Qasim returned to Kashmir disgruntled. But, cunning as he was, he did not explain the details to Yusuf Shah and flattered about his success in defaming Haidar Chak before Man Singh.[54] His role of

duplicity convinced Yusuf Shah so much that he, on his part, reciprocated Khawaja Qasim by conferring upon him the title of 'Mirza'. He also elevated him to the position of Wazir in place of Muhammad Bat.[55]

This unwise and hasty step of Yusuf Shah caused him much trouble because after the imprisonment of his former Wazir Muhammad Bat, Prince Yaqub was discharging the duties of Wazir. The situation had, in fact, taken a sudden turn when Khawaja Qasim, through his astute diplomacy, occupied the chair of wizarat. This incident generated feelings of hostility between the two and in an open Darbar, they condemned each other.[56]

Akbar and Kashmir

Yusuf Shah on his accession had to face various problems and the foremost among them was the danger from the expanding Mughal Empire. It was obvious that emperor Akbar, a contemporary of the Chaks, would not tolerate any kingdom under an independent king. This was an age when small principalities were fast losing their existence and were being assimilated in the formidable empire of Akbar. Thus, Yusuf Shah was ruling under mortal fear of the Mughal empire. Moreover, Akbar was much unhappy for the manner in which Yusuf had spurned the Mughal help.[57] He had also failed to send a few words of thanks to Emperor Akbar, who had shown him much favour during his exile.[58] Once Emperor Akbar started taking serious interest in the Kashmir affairs, it portended danger for Yusuf Shah.

Third Mughal Mission in Kashmir

Towards the end of 1581, when Emperor Akbar was returning from Kabul, he sent from Jalalabad Mirza Tahir, a relative of Sayyid Khan and Salih Aqil, with a farman to Yusuf Shah. This was his third political mission to Kashmir.[59] The envoys were received warmly at Baramulla by the king himself and were taken honourably to Srinagar.[60] They delivered the imperial farman to Yusuf Shah in which it was written that "since Yusuf had left the imperial Darbar, he sent no report to the

imperial Mughal court about the political conditions of the Kashmir. It is, therefore, necessary that if there is no internal disturbance he should immediately proceed to pay homage before the Emperor."[61]

Yusuf Shah realized the objective of the farman, that Akbar wanted to annex Kashmir, he at once called a meeting of his councillors.[62] They advised him that since Emperor Akbar intended to annex Kashmir, he should prepare for resistance, give up the life of ease and luxury and barricade the passes strictly.[63] But since Yusuf Shah was well aware of the Mughal Emperor's power, he did not pay heed to their words and followed his own policy. He acknowledged Akbar's suzerainty and returned the envoys honourably. On his own part he also sent his third son Haidar Chak and Yaqub Sarfi to Emperor Akbar's court with the choicest gifts of Kashmir.[64] But these professions of loyalty failed to placate Emperor Akbar. He became more annoyed with Yusuf Shah, when Salih Aqil (also called Salih Duran) reported to Emperor Akbar that how firmly and independently Yusuf Shah had established himself in Kashmir. After a year, therefore, he returned Yaqub Sarfi and Prince Haidar to Yusuf Shah to remind him of the obligations that he should at once proceed to Fatehpur Sikri, otherwise an army would be sent against him.[65]

Fourth Mughal Mission (February 1585 A.D.)

In February 1585, Raja Man Singh, the Mughal Governor of Lahore sent from there Timur Bag with a farman to Yusuf Shah to remind him that "Yusuf was showed honour because of his simplicity and honesty, but since he had returned to his country, he never cared to write a single word. It is ordered to present himself immediately for obeisance before his Majesty without any further delay."[66]

The Mughal ambassador was received with honour but Yusuf Shah got frightened by the repeated farman.[67] He once again called the meeting of his councillors. The mischievous Wazir, Khawaja Qasim who was on bad terms with prince Yaqub, advised Yusuf Shah to send Yaqub his elder son to Emperor Akbar as a proof of surety and loyalty.[68] Shortly after, when Timur Bag took leave of departure from Srinagar,

Yusuf Shah sent with him Yaqub with the rich gifts of Kashmir to Emperor Akbar.[69] Yaqub was present to Emperor at Fatehpur Sikri on February 9, 1585.[70] But instead of expressing his approval, Emperor Akbar was displeased with Yusuf Shah for sending the proxis. He complained that Yusuf Shah had first sent his minor son Haidar, unfit for the military service and now he sent Yaqub who is not free from madness and wickedness. He had therefore, not given any proofs of loyalty to the Emperor.[71]

Fifth Mughal Mission

On August 15, 1585 Emperor Akbar had to move from Fatehpur Sikri to Kabul to check the danger of Uzbeg's invasion. Since Muhammad Hakim, the governor of the province had lately died and there was every possibility of disturbance.[72] The Emperor Akbar took Yaqub Chak with him and at every station demanded the homage of Yusuf Shah.[73] He decided to send another mission to Yusuf Shah with a farman that 'Yusuf had always tried to depricate the Emperor's wrath by sending gifts and proxis. Emperor Akbar has greatly resented his attitude and ordered for his immediate homage.'[74] Sensing harshness in his words, Yaqub Chak got frightened and from every station wrote letters to his father Yusuf Shah about the Emperor's farman and his sternness.[75] But, unfortunately, the letters were not delivered to Yusuf Shah by his shrewd Wazir Khawaja Qasim who had ill-intentions against Yaqub Chak.[76]

When Emperor reached Kalanur, he sent Hakim Ali and Bahau-ud-Din Kambu to Yusuf Shah with the farman. This time he threatened Yusuf Shah to tread Kashmir under the foot of horse in case of delay. He further wrote that "Yusuf Shah had always kept himself in remembrance by sending presents and has represented the long journey as an excuse for not coming in person. Now that His Majesty is in Punjab, it is obligatory to attend the Emperor for obeisance and homage.[77]

When Yusuf Shah came to know about the arrival of the Akbar's ambassadors, his anxiety grew much and as a mark of respect, he came down to Thana, near Rajauri to receive them. He was presented there a royal robe, which Emperor Akbar had sent for him. Yusuf Shah at once decided to resort to the

imperial presence. But his advisors Baba Khalil, Baba Mehdi and Shams Duni advised him not to take hasty decision. Consequently, he returned to Srinagar and consulted his counsellors. He expressed his opinion to pay his personal homage to the Mughal emperor because that was the only way to save the kingdom. But none of the counsellors was prepared to accept his suggestions. They rather begged him to be ready to defend the kingdom against a Mughal invasion.[78] But despite their requests Yusuf Shah remained adamant in his decision and showed his inability to withstand the strong Mughal force which could overrun the whole of the kingdom within a few day's time.[79] He was also afraid that any delay on his part may prove harmful to his son Yaqub, who was under the Mughal custody.[80] Yusuf Shah was on the horns of a dilemma because on the one side he was worried about the kingdom and his son Yaqub and on the other side his nobles had threatened him of the severe consequences if he tried to slip away for obeisance.[81] At this time, there was also a general upsurge in the country and everyone was ready to fight against the Mughals. The nobles appealed to Yusuf Shah to organise his army but their appeals fell on deaf ears, for Yusuf Shah had completely been overawed by the Mughals superiority and was bent upon his personal homage to Emperor Akbar.[82]

Under these circumstances while the discussions were in progress at Srinagar, Yaqub also appeared there. He had escaped from the Mughals custody for various reasons; firstly, Emperor Akbar had disgraced Yaqub at the court by calling him wicked person and insane,[83] secondly, the salary which was procured to Yaqub was not more than rupees thirty to forty. This was a disgrace for him at the Mughal court,[84] thirdly, he had become suspicious of Akbar's intentions who was issuing regular summons to Yusuf Shah at every station while on his march to Kabul,[85] and lastly; Yaqub got perturbed when from Kalanur, Emperor Akbar summoned Yusuf Shah through his envoys.[86] Thus apprehending danger to his own life and to that of his father, he stealthily escaped from the Mughal camp near Khawaspur[87] and took the route to Srinagar. He came via Rajauri and reached Srinagar after spending two years in the Mughal service.[88]

The unexpected arrival of Yaqub, without the pre-permission of Emperor Akbar, was highly resented by Yusuf Shah. He wished to return the fugitive prince in shackles with the Mughal envoys but at the dissuasion of the ministers he was forgiven.[89] However, to avoid the inevitable, he expressed his readiness to pay his personal homage to Emperor Akbar. But he was threatened by the nobles that if he attempted to leave Kashmir, they would not spare his life and set up Prince Yaqub in his place.[90]

Second Mughal Invasion—December 20, 1585

The Mughal envoys stayed at Srinagar for about two months and finally receded without any success in their mission. They even failed to take back fugitive Yaqub owing to the hostile attitude of Kashmiri people.[91] On December 13, 1585 they reported to Emperor Akbar at Hasan Abdal about the general public upsurge at Kashmir against the Mughals and the intentions of Yusuf Shah.[92] Thus annoyed with the intrusive conduct of Yusuf Shah and Yaqub, Emperor Akbar decided to invade Kashmir at once.[93] Accordingly on December 20, 1585 he despatched an army of 5,000[94] horse besides foot soldiers from the neighbourhood of Attock, under his two veteran generals, Raja Bhagwan Das and Mirza Shah Rukh.[95] This was the second Mughal invasion after a gap of twenty-six years.[96] The invaders were assisted by the two Kashmiri nobles, Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi and Haidar Chak who acted as their guide.[97] Before the invaders marched on Kashmir, some of the Mughal commanders decided to follow the route of Bhimber, partly because it was an easy pass while some opined to postpone the invasion on account of the arrival of winter season.[98] Emperor Akbar was, however, opposed to any delay and ordered the generals to march via Pakhli where less snow falls. Moreover Kashmiris did not expect the Mughal invasion from that pass and would be taken in surprise.[99] But the forecast proved wrong because when the Mughal force advanced, it had to encounter Kashmiri soldiers at various stations.

When the news of the Mughal advance broke out in Kashmir the nobles and the wise people requested Yusuf Shah to prepare for war. Ostensibly he started preparation, but in

reality he had become convinced of the futility of resistance and had resolved to join the Mughals stealthily.[100] He released his old Wazir Muhammad Bat and Alam Sher Khan from the prison.[101] Leaving the former incharge of the city administration, he moved out to Baramulla with a huge force comprising of both the horse and foot soldiers.[102] At Baramulla he arranged his armies. The advance guard was placed under Hasan Malik and Alam Sher Khan, Shams-ud-Din and Muhammad Yusuf were made the commanders of the left wing, Abul Maali the commander of the right wing and Prince Yaqub was to command the flag party.[103] Lohar Qorchi and Baba Talib Ishfan,[104] were sent with the zamindars of Khaka and Gani to attack the Mughals in the rear.[105] He also sent some experienced men to construct forts near the river Nain Sukh in the Pakhli pass.[106]

When the Mughals arrived near Bulias[107] they were attacked by the advance guards of Yusuf Shah from Kuarmast.[108] Many Mughals were killed and their heads were sent to Yusuf Shah as a proof.[109] Since the winter season had set in, the Mughals had to suffer heavy losses of men and animals, both at the hands of Kashmiris and because of the natural calamity. Owing to heavy rainfall the river Pana Drang also flooded, while the passes were blocked by heavy snowfall and storms.[110] To avoid an inevitable catastrophe totter of his forces in the ravines of Bulias, Raja Bhagwan Das, hoping the formal submission by Yusuf Shah would satisfy the Emperor, decided to sue for peace. He sent his two envoys to Yusuf Shah with the message that, "although the Mughals were troubled by snow and heavy rains and defeated at present, yet another army would soon arrive and then it would be impossible for the Kashmiri forces to continue resistance. He should, therefore, come to proceed to the Emperor."[111] The envoys were seized by the Kashmiri soldiers who decided to kill them, but were dissuaded by some chiefs and allowed to convey the message to Yusuf Shah.[112] As Yusuf Shah was anxious to save his kingdom and his subject from harassment and destruction by the Mughal army, he held talks with the envoys and entered into a secret understanding.[113] He sent his Wazir Khawaja Qasim with the Mughal envoys to enter into an agreement with Raja Bhagwan Das.[114] A farman of treaty was prepared by the Mughal generals and Yusuf Shah

was secretly invited in the camp.[115] Sensing the evil intentions of Yusuf Shah, the nobles and chiefs refrained him for taking any hasty step. But he remained adamant to his decision.[116]

Submission of Yusuf Shah

In the early morning of February 14, 1586 under a pretext of inspecting his army, Yusuf Shah came out of his camp and quietly slipped into the imperial camp of the Mughals.[117] He was received with honour by Raja Bhagwan Das who held a conference with him and decided that after paying personal homage to Emperor Akbar, Yusuf Shah would be returned to his kingdom but he should pay tribute every year to the Emperor in the form of saffron and shawls.[118] He accordingly sent reports of the treaty to Emperor Akbar. After receiving the reports from Raja Bhagwan Das, Emperor Akbar issued further orders in his name that, "though Yusuf's coming was approved of that he would be welcomed with princely favours, but that the idea of the officers to withdraw from the campaign should be ruled out and if Yusuf Shah is not meditating any fraud and was trading the highway of truth, the right thing is that the army should enter the delightful country of Kashmir and after having taken it, should make it over again to Yusuf. The officers willing or unwilling have to march one."[119] Consequently Raja Bhagwan Das continued his campaign. On the other hand, Yusuf Shah, though betrayed his army in the time of need, yet their spirit for the protection of their kingdom was not broken. Under a tentative agreement, the nobles and chiefs declared Yusuf's brother namely Awlad Husain their king and continued harassing the Mughals.[120] Meanwhile Prince Yaqub also joined the troops and all the leaders and chiefs cloved to him. Declaring him the king they resumed the struggle and attacked the Mughals from different directions.[121] The Mughals at this time were suffering great hardships on account of snow, and rains. Cold waves caused shivering among the Mughal army, and scarcity of food estranged them so much writes Haidar Malik that 'only by slaughtering their animals they satisfied their appetite and protected their body by wearing animals' skins.'[122] Taking advantage of this, Baba Talib Ishfani and Muhammad Salim Kashgari, with a small Kashmiri force,

attacked the Mughals at Karna where the enemy had penetrated with the help of Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi.[123] A terrible defeat, with a great loss of men and animals, was inflicted upon the Mughals. Their important leaders like Madhu Singh, Amir-ud-Din, Hasan Beg Ahadi laid dead in this encounter.[124] In the meanwhile, another Mughal ahdis, Zain Koka was also defeated in the North-western frontier of Kashmir.[125] Realising the precarious position of the Mughal army, Raja Bhagwan Das made peace overtures to Yaqub by sending Akbar Ali Shahi to him.[126] Since Kashmiris had also become tired owing to inclement weather and continuous fight since a month, Yaqub Chak, therefore agreed upon the peace negotiations. A treaty was concluded between the Mughals and the Kashmiris with the final consent of Yusuf Shah.[127] It was laid down in the treaty that :

(i) under Emperor Akbar's[128] orders, Yusuf Shah would retain his throne, but since he is anxious to pay a visit to Emperor Akbar, he would be carried under an escort and returned safe;[129]
(ii) coins and pulpits would be struck and Khutba recited in the name of the Emperor;[130]
(iii) the mint, saffron cultivation, silk, and shawl manufacture, and the right of hunting would be under the control of imperial officers, Khawaja Miraki, Qalander Bag and Mulla Mazhari, respectively. All these officers were with the Mughal force;[131]
(iv) the daughter of a Mughal amir, Mubarak Khan Gakkar would be given to prince Yaqub in marriage;[132]
(v) at present, Yaqub would not be taken to Emperor Akbar and Raja Bhagwan Das would furnish his surety before the Emperor.[133]

After concluding the treaty, the Mughals descended back via Bulbas (modern Bukhliyas) On March 25, 1586 at Attock, Yusuf Shah and the draft of peace treaty was presented to Emperor Akbar by Raja Bhagwan Das.[134] Emperor Akbar did not approve of this and out of anger drew away the amirs from his Darbar.[135] But on March 28, 1586, when the Emperor was having a supreme feast, he also called Yusuf Shah, Raja

Bhagwan Das, Mirza Shah Rukh, Shah Qali Muharam and other officers for an interview and accepted the treaty which had been concluded at Kashmir.[136]

Yusuf's Imprisonment and Death

In an interview with Emperor Akbar on March 28, 1586, Yusuf Shah was reminded of the many favours which were bestowed upon him by the former.[137] Still Emperor resolved upon to restoring Kashmir to him as per agreement, but the imperial servants of the court advised the Emperor that Yusuf Shah ought to have some punishment for his backslidings and that the Kashmir should first be annexed completely and afterwards restored to him.[138] The Emperor accepted their opinion and imprisoned Yusuf Shah and made him over to Ram Das Kachawa at Lahore.[139] After some time he was kept under the custody of Raja Todar Mal as a political prisoner.[140]

This was a clear violation of the treaty, according to which, Yusuf Shah after paying homage to Emperor Akbar was entitled to return to his country,[141] but he was detained and imprisoned by the latter. The Kashmiri chronicler states that this breach of the treaty affected Raja Bhagwan Das so much that he attempted to commit suicide to vindicate his honour as Rajput but was saved at the intervention of Abdur Rahim.[142]

Yusuf Shah was kept under the servitude of Todar Mal till the valley was completely annexed and his son Yaqub Shah, the last Chak ruler was also taken as captive to Delhi.[143] He was set free after two and a half years' imprisonment at the request of Raja Man Singh. But he was not allowed to return to Kashmir. He was sent to Raja Man Singh and a humble jagir in Bihar was made over to him. He was also conferred the mansab of 5000[144] horse carrying a salary ranging from rupees 2100 to 2500 a month.[145] He also served in Bengal and accompanied Raja Man Singh to subjugate Orissa. After the success of Orissa, Yusuf Shah fell ill at Jagian Nathpur and after six days illness he died on Wednesday, the 14th Zu-I-Hija 1000 on 22nd September 1592.[146] His dead body was carried to Biswak[147] in Bihar by Sayyid Mubarak's son Sayyid Abul Maali and buried there after some days.[148]

Estimate

The exterior of Yusuf Shah was as charming and handsome as he was inwardly generous and large hearted. He was so kind and sympathetic to his subjects that he stopped the exaction of corvee (forced labour) from the peasants and a tax from the ferrymen. Unlike his predecessors, he abolished many oppressive taxes on trees, artisans and cattle.[149] He was the first king in the history of medieval Kashmir to have abolished the Jaziya.[150] Like other kings of the Chak house, he was a Shia with liberal views which he extended to all classes of people in Kashmir.[151] But he was a just ruler and nothing could stand in his way of dispensing justice strictly, but generously. No one, however, important he may have been was ever exempted from the due process of law.[152]

He was a man of many accomplishments and of varied tastes and interests. A scholar in his own right, he was well versed in Persian, Kashmiri and Hindi.[153] His generosity for patronage of scholars, poets and artists is rarely surpassed.[154] Kashmiri poetry underwent a considerable change from mysticism to romanticism in his time. The greatest Kashmiri poetess of his time was Habba Khatun,[155] who enjoyed the liberal patronage of Yusuf Shah.

An expert in the science of music, he adorned his court with a number of musicians and singers.[156] He was a born naturalist and spent much of his time in enjoying the beauties of Kashmir woods, meadows, springs and cascaders. He laid the foundation of a garden named Bagh-i-Yusuf Shah. He also founded the charms of Gaurimarg (Gulmarg) and Sonamarg.[157]

In his private life, Yusuf Shah was devoted to religious meditation.[158] Baba Daud Khaki, a contemporary Sufi of his time mentions in his didactic work *Gushyya Yusuf Shah*, that "Yusuf was well versed in Sunna and Shara, offered daily prayers and spent money in alms and attended all the religious congregations. For his religious sanctity he was highly revered by the people."[159] He had great regard for Sufis and saints and he used to pay daily visits to Baba Rishi, bare footed.[160] According to Abul Fazl, Yusuf went to Wahid, a Sufi of Bijbihara, and prayed for success when there was a report in

Kashmir about the coming of Bhagwan Das, the Mughal general.[161]

But he had defects too. He lacked in personal valour, administrative skill, and statesmanship. Instead, he loved voluptuous life and sometimes in a fit of intoxication committed many indecent acts.[162] He often acted unwisely on the advice of flatterers. Thus, by his own follies, he brought about the downfall of the Chak dynasty. Finding himself insecure on the throne owing to Mughal menace, he tried to avert the danger by following the policy of conciliation It was time when the kingdom needed a strong king and, a weak ruler like Yusuf Shah, had no chance of success against his formidable Mughal adversary. He was, therefore, bound to quit sooner or later. But he proved himself a coward and, instead of defending the kingdom like a true patriot, he sacrified it for his self-interest. He wore the Mughal fetters and died in disgrace.

REFERENCES

1. *A.N.*, p. 465; *B.S.*, f. 163a.
2. *B.S.*, ff. 163a-b.
3. *B.S.*, f. 163b; Hasan, p. 262.
4. *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* is written by Haidar Malik. For details see 'Appendix-A', p. 311.
5. *B.S.*, f. 164a.
6. Ibid.
7. *B.S.*, f. 164b.
8. *B.S.*, f. 164b.
9. *B.S.*, ff. 164a-b.
10. Ibid., H.M., f. 150a.
11. *H.M.*, f. 150a; *B.S.*, f. 164b; Azam, p. 164.
12. *B.S.*, f. 164b; H.M., f. 150a; Azam, p. 164.
13. Mamosa is a village eighteen Km. (eleven miles) north-west of Srinagar on the road connecting Srinagar with Gulmarg.
14. *B.S.*, f. 164b; H.M., f. 150a; Azam, p. 164.
15. *B.S.*, f. 164b; Azam, p. 164.
16. *B.S.*, ff. 165a-166b; Hasan, p. 262.
17. *B.S.*, ff. 166a-b; Suka, p. 398. Haidar Malik has mentioned the punishment of Lohar Shah only (f. 150a).
18. *B.S.*, ff. 166a-b; Suka, p. 398.
19. *B.S.*, f. 169a; *H.M.*, ff. 150a-b.
20. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 757; Rodgers, p. 137.

21. *H.M.*, f. 151b; Rafi-ud-Din, ff. 92a-b; Hasan, p. 262.
22. *H.M.*, f. 151b; Hasan, p. 282.
23. *H.M.*, f. 151a; Sufi, I, p. 230.
24. *H M.*, f. 151a; Sufi, I, p. 230; Birbal, p. 87. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* and Daud Khaki have not accused Yusuf Shah for voluptuous life. Abul Fazl has, however, accused Yusuf Shah for maintaining a Seraglio (*A.N.*, iii, p. 384).
25. Mulla Tawfiq (*Ahwal-i-Kashmir*), p. 70.
26. *B.S.*, ff. 166a-b.
27. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 757, *B.S.*, ff. 166a-b.
28. *B.S.*, ff. 166a-b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 757.
29. Kasir is near modern Keran in Karnah village of Kashmir.
30. *B.S.*, ff. 168a-b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 758, Hasan, p. 263.
31. *B.S.*, ff. 168a-b; Hasan, p. 263; Mohibbul Hasan accepting the view of Francke (*History of Western Tibet*, p. 90) writes the names of Ladakhi Raja as Jamia Namgyal, p. 169, n. 8; Nizam-ud-Din writes as Ram Lal (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 758).
32. *B.S.*, ff. 168a-b, Suka, p. 398.
33. *B.S.*, ff. 168a-b.
34. Ibid., Suka, p. 398.
35. *B.S.*, f. 169a; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 758, Rodgers, p. 137.
36. *B.S.*, f. 169a; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 758.
37. *B.S.*, f. 169a.
38. *B.S.*, f. 169b.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. *B.S.*, ff. 170a-b.
42. Ibid.
43. 'Lar', the old district of Lohara in the vicinity of Sindh valley, was the largest pargana of Kashmir (Stein, II, p. 488).
44. 'Katal' or Kathul lies between the Katakul river. It is mentioned as Kasthila by Kalhana (Stein, II, p. 451).
45. Vaksm Katum was a pargana in Kashmir but it could not be identified.
46. *B.S.*, f. 171a; Firishta, p. 527; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 758.
47. *B.S.*, ff. 171a-b; Firishta, p. 527.
48. *B.S.*, ff. 171b-172a.
49. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 759; *B.S.*, f. 172b. For identification of Naushehra and Bhimbar see p. 227. infra.
50. *B.S.*, f. 172b; *Tabaqat.*, P. III, p. 759.
51. *B.S.*, f. 172b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 759; Firishta, p. 527.
52. *H.M.*, f. 151a; *B.S.*, f. 172b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 759.
53. *B.S.*, f. 172b; H.M., f. 151a; Firishta, p. 527; *A.N.*, III, p. 715. Mohibul Hasan wrongly writes that Raja Man Singh granted him the two jagirs of Naushehra and Bhimbar (p. 171). These two jagirs were already held by Yusuf Chak and Ali Chak (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 759).
54. *B.S.*, f. 172b.

55. *B.S.*, pp. 172-173; *H.M.*, f. 151a.
56. *B.S.*, f. 173b.
57. *A.N.*, III, p. 465; *B.S.*, f. 158a.
58. *A.N.*, III, p. 493; *B.S.*, f. 153b.
59. The first mission was sent to the court of Husain Shah Chak and second to the court of Ali Shah Chak by Emperor Akbar.
60. *A.N.*, III, p. 550; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 758; Firishta, p. 527; *H.M.*, f. 152a. Abul Fazl writes that only Salih Aqil was sent to Kashmir (*A.N.*, III, p. 550). According to Rodgers Yusuf Shah kissed the farman and out of the regard placed it on the head (p. 138).
61. *A.N.*, III, p. 550; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 758; Firishta, p. 527.
62. H.M., f. 152b; Azam, p. 167.
63. *A.N.*, III, p. 550; *H.M* , f. 153a; *Tabaqat.*, III. p. 758.
64. *H.M* ., f. 153a; *A.N.*, III, p. 550; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 758. Firishta states wrong that Yusuf Shah sent his two sons 'Yaqub and Haidar to Akbar' (p. 527).
65. *A A.*, p. 534; *H.M.*, f. 153a; *A.N.*, P. III, p. 550.
66. *B S.*, ff. 173a-b; Hasan, p. 265.
67. *B.S.*, ff. 173a-b.
68. *B.S.*, ff. 173b-174a; *H.M.*, f. 155a; Suka, p. 399.
69. *H.M.*, f. 155a; *B.S.*, ff. 173b-174a.
70. *A.N.*, III, p. 676; *H.M.*, f. 155a.
71. *H.M.*, f. 155a; Suka, p. 399; *A.N.*, III, p. 676.

The main cause for attributing madness to Yaqub lies in the fact of Haidar Malik's statement that during Yaqub's stay at the court, Raja Neelkunt of Bundella rose in revolt against Emperor Akbar and with 50,000 Rajput soldiers and 15,000 war elephants marched on the capital. Akbar decided to despatch a force against the rebel. Yaqub Chak, who was present there requested the emperor to allow him to undertake this campaign all alone. All the courtiers laughed at him and the Emperor also took him to be an insane person, but he accepted his request for two reasons, firstly. he wanted to know his valour and strength, and secondly, he would get rid of him, if he lose his life there. Thus under the permission of Emperor Akbar early in the morning Yaqub Chak in the disguise of a trademan managed to reach before the camp of Neelkunt. The Raja at this time was going to take bath. Yaqub Chak managed to came before him and with boldness introduced himself and made him clear that he wished to carry Raja before the Emperor and threatened him that in case of refusal he would be slain with sword. The Raja submitted to Yaqub for he was without any arm. Yaqub dashed away with him on horse and brought him before Emperor Akbar who wondered at his marvellous success and took his achievement no more than a madman's work (H.M., ff. 155a). Newal (p. 428) and Narayan Koul (p. 103) has also recorded this event. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* and Abul Fazl are silent about this event.

72. *A.N.*, III, p. 705; *B.S.*, p. 174,

73. *B.S.*, ff. 174a-b; Hasan, p. 266.
74. *A.N.*, III, p. 705.
75. *B.S.*, ff. 174a-b.
76. Ibid.
77. *A.N.*, III, p. 707; *A.A.*, p. 535; *H.M.*, f. 156b. *B.S.*, (f. 174b). Mentions Salih Aqil also as one of the envoys.
78. *H,M.*, f. 157a; Suka, p. 400.
79. *H.M.*, f. 157a.
80. *B.S.*, f. 174b; *A.N.*, III, p. 707; Suka, p. 400.
81. *A.N.*, III, p. 707; *B.S.*, f. 174b; Suka, p. 400.
82. *A.N.*, III, p. 707; *B.S.*, f. 174b.
83. *B.S.*, f. 174b; *A.N.*, III, p. 707.
84. *A.N.* p. 707.
85. *H.M.*, f. 156b.
86. Ibid., *A.N.*, III, p. 709; *A.A.*, p. 306.
87. Khawaspur is a station between Attock and Lahore (*A.N.*, III, p. 708, n.1). The anonymous author writes that Yaqub escaped from Kalanur (*B.S.*, f. 174b).
88. *H.M.* f. 156b. Abul Fazl wrongly writes that Yaqub Chak escaped first and the envoys were sent afterwards (*A.N.*, III, p. 702). Nizam-ud-Din states that Yaqub stayed at the Mughal court only for a year (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 760).
89. *H.M.*, f. 187a; Azam, p. 187.
90. Firishta, p. 528; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 760; Rodgers, p. 138.
91. *A.A.*, p. 534; *A.N.*, III, p. 714; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 760.
92. *A.N.*, III, p. 714; *H.M.*, f. 157; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 760.
93. *A.N.* III, p. 714; *B.S.*, f. 175.
94. *A.N.*, III, p. 715. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 760. Haidar Malik in exaggeration states that Mughal troops numbered 50,000 (f. 187a).
95. *H.M.*, f. 187a; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 760. According to Abul Fazl, the two generals were also assisted by twenty other ahdis and important among them were Shah Ali Muharam, Madhu Singh, Mubarak Khan Muhammad and Ali Akbar Shahi (*A.N.*, III, p. 715).
96. The first Mughal invasion under Qara Bahadur (1559-60) was repulsed by Ghazi Shah. See for details, pp. 58-62 supra.
97. *H.M.*, f. 187a; *A.N.*, III, p. 715.
98. *A.N.*, III, p. 722, *A.A.*, p. 534.
99. *A.A.*, p. 534; *H.M.*, ff. 152a-b, *A.N.*, III, p. 722.
100. Suka, p. 400; *B.S.*, f. 175a; *H.M*,, f. 157a.
101. *B.S.*, f. 175a; Suka, p. 400.
102. *A.N.*, II, p. 725. Azam, p. 172. Haidar Malik gives the figures of Kashmiri force as 12,000 horse and 30,000 foot (f. 158b).
103. *H.M.*, f. 158; *A.A.*, p. 676.
104. Baba Talib Ishfani was living in Kashmir for the last thirty years (*A A.*, f. 676, n. 3).
105. *H.M.*, f. 158b.
106. *A.N.*, III, p. 725.

107. Bulias lies on the right bank of Jehlum. It is about 80 Km. away from Baramulla (Stein, II, p. 403). Jahangir in his memoirs wrongly writes that it is 2-1/2 miles (4 Km.) away from Baramulla (Tuzuk, II, p. 331).
108. Kuarmast is the last station on Baramulla pass (*A.N.*, III, p. 724, n. 1).
109. *B.S.*, f. 175b.
110. *H.M.*, f. 158a; *A.N.*, III, p. 724.
111. *H.M.*, (*B.N.*) f. 62a (vide Mohibbul Hasan, p. 176).
112. Ibid.
113. *B.S.*, f. 157b.
114. Ibid., *A.N.*, III, p. 724.
115. *B.S.*, f. 157b; *A.N.*, III, p. 724.
116. Suka, p. 402
117. *H.M.*, f. 158b; *A.N.*, III, p. 724; *B.S.*, f. 176.
118. *A.N.*, III, p. 724; *A.A.*, p. 535.
119. *A.N.*, III, p. 724; Badauni, II, p. 363; Firishta, p. 528.
120. *A.A.*, p. 535; *A.N.*, III, p. 724.
121. *B.S.*, f. 178b; *H.M.*, f. 158b.
122. *H.M.*, f. 159a. The Persian chronicler gives a gruesome account of the Mughals suffering. It is mentioned that the food scarcity went to such an extent that the Mughals could hardly get one seer of grain for an ashrafi (gold coin).
(*H M.*, f. 159a; Azam, p. 173; Birbal, p. 90).
123. *H M.*, ff. 159a-b; Azam, p. 173. According to the anonymous author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, the villagers of Karna caused a havoc among the Mughal force, particularly when they found some of them with gold armour (ff. 177a-b).
124. *A.N.*, III, p. 725. According to the estimate of Haidar Malik, about three thousands Mughals were killed in this campaign (ff. 159a-b).
125. Badauni, II, p. 363.
126. *B.S.*, f. 178b; *H.M.*, f. 159b. Abul Fazl wrongly states that Kashmiris come forward with the peace proposals (*A.N.*, III, pp. 724-25).
127. *B.S.*, f.178; HM., f. 159b; Badauni, II, p. 363.
128. *A.N.*, p. iii, p. 724.
129. *A.N.*, III, p. 725; Badauni, II, p. 363.
130. *B S.*, f. 178a.
131. *H.M.*, f. 159b; *A.N.*, III, p. 725.
132. *A.N.*, III., p. 725; H.M., f. 159b.
133. *H.M*, f, 159b; *A.N.*, III, p. 725; Badauni, III, p. 363.
134. *A.N.*, III, p. 725; *H.M.*, f. 159b. The Kashmir chroniclers write that Yusuf Shah was arrested near Pakhli.
135. *A.N.*, III, p. 738.
136. Ibid.
137. *A.N.*, III, 738. According to Abul Fazl, Emperor Akbar asked Yusuf Shah that "why the kindness of the Shahin Shah (Akbar) has passed from his memory, and why the influence of his son who had

fled from the court had increased in Kashmir? Yusuf Shah had the grace to be ashamed and to reply by silence (*A.N.*, III, p. 738).

138. *A.N.*, iii, p. 738.
139. Ibid., *H.M.*, f. 159b.
140. *B.S.*, f. 178a; *A.N.*, III, p. 739. Haidar Malik writes that Yusuf Shah passed only two years under Raja Todar Mal, f. ibid (f. 159b).
141. *A.N.*, III, p. 725, Badauni. II, p. 363.
142. *B.S.*, ff. 178a-b; Badauni, II, p. 364. Abul Fazl has stated a different reason for this action of Raja Bhagwan Das and called it an action of madness. It has been stated in *Akbar Nama*, that while Bhagwan Das was on his way to Kabul, he turned mad. He was brought back to Attock and placed under the care of the physician named Saman. When the Saman was feeling his pulse, the Raja drew out his *dagger* and wounded himself. Probably there was madness in Ambar family (*A.N.*, III, p. 734, n. 2).
143. *B.S.*, f, 200a.
144. Ibid., *A.A.*, p. 536. Haidar Malik writes that Yusuf received Rs. 100/- a day for his expenses (f. 159b).
145. V.A. Smith, p. 173.
146. *B.S.*, f. 200b.
147. For the topography of 'Biswak' see Appendix B.
148. *B.S.*, f. 200b.
According to Haidar Malik, Yusuf Shah died of madness (f. 16a). A modern historian, Mohibbul Hasan stated that Yusuf could not bear the separation of her beloved Queen Habba Khatun and died (p. 180). Both these statements are wrong. We have clear records in *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, that "Yusuf Shah, who possessed generous and liberal sentiments, gave away all he had in kind, cash, ornaments and property and the people who were unknown to these traits of his character, took him to be insane" (ff. 200a-b). Besides, there are other reasons which turned Yusuf desperate. Yusuf had gone to Emperor Akbar with the intentions that he would be excused and returned to Kashmir. But against all expectations, he found himself a prisoner. He also grew perturbed when he saw his son Yaqub Shah in the Mughal's fetters and then the life of hot plains of Bihar was unbearable for Yusuf who was born and bred in the beautiful vale of Kashmir. All this was sufficient to turn his mind from worldly pomp and show and he gave out everything in alms, for which Haidar Malik has called him insane (*B.S.*, p. 200). See also *Ahwal-i-Kashmir*, pp. 64-65 (vide Sheeraza, May 1964).
149. *H.M.*, f. 151 b.
150. Ibid.
151. Baba Daud, p. 5. Rafi-ud-Din writes out of prejudice that Yusuf Shah executed a number of Sunnis on religious grounds (ff. 97a-b).
152. *H.M.*, f. 149b.
153. *B.S.*, f. 167a; *H.M.*, f. 151a.
154. *H.M.*, f. 15a; *B.S.*, f. 167a.
155. For details of Habba Khatun see pp. 262-65, infra.

156. Baba Daud, p. 4. Baba Daud writes that once Yusuf Shah corrected Tan Sen, Akbar's favourite musician.
157. *Ahwal-i-Kashmir*, (vide Sheeraza, p. 70). Rafi-ud-Din, p. 97.
158. Baba Daud, p. 5.
159. Ibid. See also *B.S.*, f. 200b.
160. *A.N.*, III; p. 833; Rafi-ud-Din, pp. 102-103.
161. *A.N.*, III, p. 833.
162. *B.S.*, f. 167a; *H.M.* f. 151a. According to Abul Fazl, "When Akbar was in Kashmir, it had been reported to him that Yusuf Shah in a fit of intoxication had thrown one of his ladies from the top of the terrace. One day Akbar was inspecting the Kashmiri palace, he while many lofty windows and watch towers were around him said, that Yusuf must have flung that innocent one from this terrace. On enquiry, this was found to be the case" (*A N.*, III, p. 384).

5

Yaqub Shah Chak

Coronation

As discussed in the previous chapter, Yusuf Shah deserted his troops and slipped away to join the Mughal camp in the middle of fighting. The Kashmiri nobles, under a tentative agreement, chose Yusuf's brother Awlad Husain Khan the king and continued the struggle against the enemy.[1] They were soon joined by Yaqub Chak and all the nobles and generals rallied round him. Declaring Yaqub to be the king of Kashmir, they proceeded with the campaign till a treaty was concluded with the Mughals.[2] Yaqub withstood the weakness of his father Yusuf Shah and declined to accept the treaty articles as fickle-minded Yusuf Shah had obliged the Mughals in a cowardly fashion. So, as soon as the Mughals withdrew from the Kashmir mountains, the amirs and nobles participated in the performance of a coronation ceremony in Srinagar and on April 3, 1586, Yaqub became the king of Kashmir.[3] Yaqub Shah had the coins struck and khutba recited in his own name and assumed the title of Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Yaqub Badshah Gazi.[4]

Internal Disturbances

Though brave and intrepid, Yaqub Shah possessed little judgement. He failed to rule with tact and ability and from

the very beginning earned a bad reputation. He committed a mistake in selecting Ali Dar, his Wazir.[5] Ali Dar was an untrustworthy and corrupt man, addicted to intoxicants.[6] Immediately after becoming the Wazir, he won over many disaffected nobles including Qazi Musa (Qazi-ud-Qazzat) and planned to seize the throne for himself.[7] He soon got a chance when Yaqub Shah went to Hamal[8] to espouse his adopted son there. In the absence of the king, Ali Dar, Qazi Musa and other insurgents, namely, Shams Chak and Ali Sher Khan, tried to seize the throne by prevailing upon Miran Sayyid Husain and Shams Duni, the two nobles whom king had made over the administration and responsibility of the kingdom.[9] But their evil proposals were condemned and quickly conveyed to Yaqub Shah through the royal agents. Yaqub Shah hurriedly entered the capital through short routes and ordered the release of Muhammad Bat, the ex-Wazir. The rebels had by that time destroyed the bridges, and assembled in the field of Zalidgarh.[10] Ali Dar soon realised his weakness and tried to cajore the king and convince him of his innocence. But on receiving severe rebuff, he proceeded to Lahore along with his supporters to seek the help of Emperor Akbar.[11] But, on account of the advent of rainy season, he gave up the idea of going to Emperor Akbar and returned from Hirapur and stationed at Sopore.[12] It was from this place that the rebels created disturbances. Yaqub Shah decided to handle the problem amicably and sent Baba Khalil to the rebels for a settlement. Baba Khalil successfully brought them round. It was decided that Shams Chak, who had gathered much strength by that time, should be given the province of Kamraj and the rest of the country be administered by Yaqub Shah.[13] But, Ali Dar seeing little scope for his rise in the settlement, tactfully instigated his allies and sabotaged the settlement. Consequently, the rebels again rose in rebellion at Sopore in Kamraj.[14] Hearing about their perfidious behaviour, Yaqub Shah finally prepared a huge force comprising twelve thousand horse and twenty thousand foot soldiers, besides archers and musketeers, and marched against the rebels.[15] Before launching a massive attack on the rebels in Sopore he placed his troops at different stations.[16] The rebels also scattered their troops

in various directions to meet the forces of Yaqub Shah. Alam Sher Khan with his group speedily crossed the river of Mallapur in Sopore and attacked Yaqub's military contingent posted there. For complete seven days the battle continued and soldiers on both sides fought gallantly, but in the end Alam Sher Khan was surrounded by the royal forces, but was saved by one of his faithful adherents who carried him across the river where he joined his leader Shams Chak.[17] The royal force now marched on Sopore outwitting the rebel stations in the way. The rebels finding no way of success fled away, but were followed till a large number of them fell down while crossing over a bridge which was very narrow. Only a small number could cross over the bridge.[18]

Shams Chak once again rallied the disheartened rebels and decided to march on the capital before Yaqub Shah could reach there. But he failed once again in his planning because Yaqub Shah entered the capital through short routes and Abul Maali pursued Shams Chak from the back. Seeing no hope of success, Shams Chak escaped to save his life but was captured at Zadibal in Srinagar and imprisoned in the house of a noble Abdul Khan.[19] His whole party dispersed in various directions.[20] Another rebel leader Alam Sher Khan fled to Kachama with some followers, while Mir Husain Chadura left for Shahimal. Ali Dar took asylum with the Zamindar of Barbal.[21]

The anonymous author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* writes that the wisemen of the country accused Qazi Musa and Shams Chak for this great upheaval.[22] Haidar Malik also holds Shams Chak more responsible than Ali Dar for the uprising but he does not mention anything about Qazi Musa.[23] Qazi Musa was a political man, besides being a religious head. He had been found creating troubles earlier too. His share in the uprising cannot be ruled out. He was no less responsible than Shams Chak.[24]

After suppressing the rebellion, Yaqub Shah appointed Muhammad Bat his Wazir.[25] He had already served as Wazir in the time of Yusuf Shah.[26]

Religious Activities

Kashmir has been through the ages of different religious phases in varying degrees of domination. About the middle of the 16th century, there had been predominance of Shia and Sunni sects, and the internecine conflicts of this century were to a certain extent influenced by religious considerations. Under many Chak rulers, the relations between the two sects were strained on various occasions but, by the dexterity of practical men and kings, the screen of moderation had been hung and dust of dissensions was not allowed to rise.[27] But Yaqub Shah proved imprudent in the handling of religious matters. By his injudicious exactions he stirred up the heart of the people against himself.[28] He destroyed the bridges of amity, goodwill and co-existence built up by his father Yusuf Shah. Reversing his father's policy, he first of all put his hands on the non-Muslims. The onerous Jaziya tax,[29] abolished by his father, was reimposed on Brahmins.[30] Every Brahmin was now to pay forty pana[31] annually. As a result, many Brahmins who were unable to pay the tax, fled from Kashmir, while a number of them converted to Shi-ism.[32]

The Sunnis too became the target of Yaqub's religious persecutions. He adopted the policy of propagating Shi-ism and, for this purpose, he is even charged for harassing people.[33] He also adopted controversial methods for its propagation. He appointed Mulla Ganai of Shi-ite faith, the Qazi of the city, in place of Qazi Musa, a Sunni divine.[34] He further honoured him with the title of 'Khan-i-Khanan'.[35] The Sunni community turned hostile when the king involved Qazi Musa in religious discussions despite the latter's requests that the king should not concern himself with religious matters but devote his time and attention to the affairs of the state. Greatly displeased with the insolent replies of Qazi Musa, Yaqub Shah had the aged Qazi Musa executed.[36] It was an irreparable mistake.

The king's another mistake was that under the evil directions of his two nobles Mulla Hasan and Qazi Mulla Ganai, he discharged his wise Wazir Muhammad Bat from the post of Wizarat and appointed Nazuk Bat, the worthless man in his

place.[37] Nazuk Bat was not competent enough to solve the problems, both internal and external which the counters faced soon after Qazi's execution.[38]

Yaqub's policy brought severe criticism of the Sunni community. The execution of Qazi Musa was an act which the Sunnis could not endure. They went to solicite the help of Emperor Akbar against the cruel king.[39]

Execution of Qazi Musa and its Reactions

Qazi Musa, a Sunni divine was one of the grandsons of Mir Ali and since the time of Qazi Ibrahim, one of their predecessors, they had been advising the king in religious matters. During the thirty-two years of Chak rule, Qazi Musa had wielded much political and religious influence in Kashmir. In the time of Husain Shah Chak, he issued a decree along with two other Qazis, Beja Ganai and Almas, condemning Yusuf Aindar to death.[40] Yusuf Shah held the Qazi in high regard and did not even allow any ordinary man to enter his house, where Lohar Shah, after his defeat, had been hiding himself.[41] In fact, Qazi Musa had become the political as well as the religious head of the Sunni Muslims in Kashmir and to challenge his integrity was to antagonise the whole Sunni community.

When Yaqub Shah ascended the throne, he applied himself to the task of propagating the Shia faith. Qazi Musa who had recently organized a revolt against him, was proving to be a great obstacle in the way of his religious mission. To put an end to his potential influence, Yaqub Shah flogged him to death.[42] There were some other reasons too for executing Qazi Musa. Yaqub Shah was afraid of Qazi Musa for his having much hold over the amirs and the grandees of the kingdom because previously they issued arms and ammunition against the Mughal invader Raja Bhagwan Das only when the Qazi ordered for that.[43] Besides, Yaqub Shah was well familiar with the Qazi's astuteness and manipulative talents. He had escaped the death punishment in the time of Husain Shah,[44] and later concealed Lohar Shah in his own house for he was the enenmy of Yaqub's father Yusuf Shah.[45] Yaqub Shah had

regarded Kazi Musa as solely responsible for the recent rising against him. It was, therefore, not unnatural for Yaqub to have regarded Qazi Musa both his political as well as religious rival. But Qazi Musa's execution was an extremely unwise step. Had he been a political leader only, the position would have been entirely different. But Qazi Musa was primarily a religious leader and his execution was bound to antagonise the whole Sunni community. It was, indeed, inexpedient for Yaqub Shah to have weakened his social base at a time when the Mughal Emperor had fixed his heart on Kashmir. Its annexation was just round the corner.

Invasion of Mir Qasim Khan

Since Emperor Akbar had refused to ratify the treaty made by Raja Bhagwan Das and had wrecked further vengeance upon king Yusuf Shah by treating him as a political prisoner.[46] The Kashmiri nobles on their part, too, paid him in the same coin. They declared Yusuf's son, Yaqub Shah, the king of Kashmir. Consequently, Emperor Akbar, who had desired to subjugate the valley, turned furious at the adamant and unyielding attitude of Yaqub Shah and the Kashmiri nobles. So, he nominated Mirza Shah Rukh and some other experienced officers to carry on the expedition and punish the promise-breaker.[47] But Mirza Shah Rukh, who had accompanied Raja Bhagwan Das earlier and was quite familiar with the steep routes, high mountains, uncertainties of weather, and patriotic spirit of the Kashmiris, relieved himself of this enterprise under some pretext.[48]

At this time, When Emperor Akbar was preparing with all his resources to make a final bid over the valley, the situation was also favourable to him. There was considerable discontentment among the people in Kashmir because of the short-sighted and injudicious policies adopted by Yaqub Shah Chak. The situation had turned more serious in Kashmir after the execution of Qazi Musa. So, in order to save the kingdom from turmoil and an imprudent king, two important nobles, Yaqub Sarfi and Haidar Chak, led a large group of Kashmiris to Emperor Akbar to request him to invade and annex

Kashmir.[49] They assured the Emperor of an easy victory and further declared that the grandees and amirs of the country would not swerve from their views. If a few of the landholders were sent with the Punjab troops, it was sure that the country would come in his hands without any contest.[50] Experor Akbar, who was fishing in troubled waters, at once prepared for the conquest of Kashmir and agreed to an agreement which the Kashmiri nobles made with him that :

(i) there shall be no interference in the purchase and sale of commodities and the rates of cereals.

(ii) Kashmiris shall not be made slaves and servants (probably this was to forestall the Mughal custom of taking slaves from the subjugated principality);

(iii) there shall be complete freedom of worship without any direct or indirect interference in the religion;

(iv) Kashmiris shall not be required to do forced labour (begar) nor they shall be oppressed or molested, and lastly;

(v) the mischievous Kashmiri leaders shall not be allowed to resolve the administrative duties of the country.[51]

After concluding this agreement, at the suggestion of Yaqub Sarfi and Haidar Chak Emperor Akbar first decided to despatch Mubarak Khan Gakkar and Jalal Khan Gakkar[52] with many other landholders on the campaign. But, soon he suspected that the suggestions about the despatch of landholders indicated some evil designs of the Kashmiri nobles.[53] So he abandoned this idea and decided to send a regular force with twenty-two heads or generals under the leadership of Qasim Khan Mir Behr.[54] Accordingly, on June 28, 1586, Fath Khan (he had charge of leopards), Masud Ali, Gujarkhan, Ali Akbar Shai, Daulat Khanjari, Sikandar Rafiq, Shah Muhammad, Mir Abdur Razzaq, Mamuri, Yadgar Husain, Lal Deo, Sonar Chand, Khawaja Zahir, Padsha Quli, Shafaqal, Wali Beg, Hazari Beg and many mansabdars, and ahadis were sent off under the command of Qasim Khan.[55] In order to encourage them, the Emperor bestowed mansabs and gifts on them according to

their status. At the same time, he ordered them to practise enlightenment, justice, the non-sufferance of wickedness, the accepting of apologies and the chastisement of the evil. Sharief Samadi, a great poet, was appointed Bakhshi and an order was given that men who had been previously sent should not deviate from the orders of the general.[56] Among the Kashmiri nobles, Yaqub Sarfi and Haidar Chak were deputed to act as their guide and to win the confidence of the local inhabitants.[57]

Before the Mughal army actually started its march, a discussion took place at Emperor Akbar's court among the nobles about the sending of troops. Many nobles thought the enterprise difficult and were not in favour of it. Though, some nobles pointed out excellent methods for the conquest, yet there was no result. Consequently, Emperor held the counsel of astrologers and a close investigation of horoscope of the year was made. The diagram (namudar) showed that if some energy would be exerted, the conquest would be quickly made.[58] Thus, Qasim Khan with a force of twenty thousand (20,000) horse, besides infantry, war elephants and muskets marched on the campaign on June 28, 1586.[59]

The Mughal force crossed the river Chinab[60] and took the route of Rajauri. From the way Qasim Khan wrote a letter to the Rija of Rajauri asking for assistance for which he would be suitably rewarded. Muslkhan, also called Sarmast Khan, the Raja of Rajauri at once came out to greet the Mughals and received the honour as promised by Qasim Khan.[61]

The whole Mughal army had already been arranged by Qasim Khan in the way. In the centre, Qasim Khan stood personally, the right wing was under the control of the three generals, Masud Ali, Fath Khan, and Mubarak Khan, the left wing was under the command of Mubarak Khan, and Jalal Khan, in the vanguard were Mirza Ali Akbar Shahi, Gujar Khan, Shaikh Daulat, Sharief Samadi, and a number of Ahadis and gallant men.[62] Though, in the way, one general Salim deviated from the Mughals, yet Qasim Khan wisely placed his nephew, Bahal in his place, but the devious soon joined the force again. When the force reached near Rajauri, they were joined by a number of Kashmiri fugitives who were waiting for the royal

army there. They also received many letters of welcome from the Kashmiri chiefs, like Ali Sher Makri etc.[63] Qasim Khan tactfully won over all the villagers to his side by distributing gifts and money among them.[64]

Flight of Yaqub Shah

When Yaqub Shah came to know about the arrival of a Mughal force at Rajauri, he at once raised a force of thirty thousand horse, ten thousand foot, besides musketeers and archers.[65] He appointed Nazuk Bat incharge of the city, and himself came to Hirapura.[66] But as soon as he moved out of the city, Sayyid Saif Khan Baihaqi treacherously took away the horse and royal arms from Nazuk Bat and joined Alam Sher Khan at Kacagala[67] and despatched letters of welcome to the Mughal general.[68] From Kacagala they again moved to the city and raised a disturbance.[69] While this mischievous game was being played at the capital, the generals and sirdars, who accompanied the king Yaqub also proved treacherous and disloyal. At Hirapura Yaqub Shah received the news of the treachery played by the Nayaks (guards of passes) who had slipped away from their duties, leaving the passes open and had joined the Mughal force.[70]

Still Yaqub Shah despatched in advance Aiba Khan and Sayyid Ibrahim Khan and his paternal uncle Husain Khan to barricade the passes. The three generals faithfully marched on their duties and forgetting their past enmity, they decided to support the king with full loyalty. In their way they imprisoned Fath Ali, who had the title of Narang Khan, when he was found refractory.[71] But they were deceived by the nayaks of their army, who stealthily escaped to join the Mughals. Among these fugitive nayaks, Behram nayak, Ismail nayak and Shanki Charlo (Charwan) were received with honour by the Mughal general Qasim Khan and were presented royal garb. The fugitive nayaks assured Qasim Khan that all the Kashmiris are looking towards them with good wishes.[72]

After the flight of the nayaks the advance Kashmiri troops were left in lurch and fell in incentitude inbetween the passes.[73]

Seeing all round defection, the three generals Aiba Khan, Ibrahim Khan and Husain Khan returned from the advance and joined Yaqub Shah. They alarmed Yaqub Shah about the perilous situation created by the disloyal nayaks.[74] Yaqub Shah was perplexed to see the defections in the whole army and half-heartedly convened the meeting of his advisors. Miran Abul Maali (son of Sayyid Mubarak) suggested Yaqub Shah to release Shams Chak and Muhammad Bat, the ex-Wazir, from the confinement and enter into an agreement with them. Yaqub Shah liked the scheme and released the two nobles. But they proved more disloyal, and as soon as they were brought out from the prison they fled away to the hills.[75] The other soldiers of Yaqub Shah also started fleeing from their camp towards the hills of Khabar and within a few days, all his force scattered away under various heads leaving the king with a small contingent of force. Even his paternal uncle betrayed him and joined Shams Chak.[76] Yaqub Shah felt it better to live apart from commotion and fled to Kishtwar to his brother-in-law Raja Bahadur Singh.[77]

It seems Yaqub Shah had become very much unpopular and no one was ready to follow him. Thus, fleeing from him, they rallied round Shams Chak who had lately been released by Yaqub Shah. Some men assembled under Haidar Chak and some followed Husain Chak. The three leader in consonance with each other decided to intercept the Mughal army with full nationalistic fervour and zeal and came down to barricade the passes.[78]

Approach of the Mughal Force

By this time (September 1, 1586)[79] the Mughal force had reached the ravines of Bhimber. As the two passes, Kapartal and Pir Panchal,[80] lead to Kashmir, it was decided by the guards to follow the Kapartal Pass owing to its easy access during the rainy season. But keeping in view the difficulty in traversing the passes and the largeness of the army, only an advance army was forwarded with Twachibakshi, Sher Khan and Selim by the general, Mir Qasim. They were assisted with musketeers and Kashmiri nobles Yaqub Sarfi and Shamsi

Chadura and others who had joined Qasim Khan at Rajauri. It was alleged that the main army would follow soon.[81]

As soon as the advance guard reached the top of Kapartal Pass, they were attacked by Husain Chak, who had been lately appointed by Shams Chak the nayak of that pass. Many Mughals were killed and wounded along with Jai, a Rajput veteran, who retreated to the camp in a wounded condition. Many Mughals perished due to severe cold and their animals died in the snow.[82] As the route was tightly blocked by the Kashmiri nayaks, the Mughal Commanders under the direction of the guards and Raja of Rajauri withdrew and decided to follow the route of Nandan Sir Lake[83], which was rarely used for journey and was free from the nayak's obstacle.[84]

After their withdrawal, Husain Chak also left the pass open and retired, while on the other hand the Mughal force at once followed both the routes and rejoined near the slopes of Hastivang.[85] But to their surprise, they found Husain Chak with Qasim Khan and his son Zafar Khan, already alert there.[86]

Among the advance guards Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi, Shankar Chandura and Mir Habi tried to win over the villagers by bestowing upon them gifts but they were soon attacked by the nayaks and many Mughal soldiers were killed.[87] Yaqub Sarfi too was badly wounded, but owing to his cordial relations with Husain Chak his life was spared, while Mir Habi, lay dead there. Among the Mughal leaders Jai was once again wounded and imprisoned. He was brought before Shams Chak who sent Jai to Srinagar.[88] The fight continued in the ravines for a week and among the Kashmiri soldiers Muhammad Qasim was also killed.[89]

At this time Shams Chak, Sayyid Husain Khan Balhazi and Husain Khan son of Aiba Khan in connivance with Alam Sher Khan and Muhammad Bat rallied all the scattered Kashmiri soldiers who had been left in the ravines by the fugitive nayaks and descended from the Kumad Bal[90] where they had stationed.[91] The general Mughal force also reached there under Qasim Khan on October 10, 1586 A.D. where a decisive battle

followed.[92] Shams Chak had already arranged his force. Stationing himself in the centre, he had sent Zaffar Khan the son of Muhammad Khan nayak to defend the right wing but he had been killed near Hastivang. Shams Duni had been incharge of the left wing, while Husain Chak was in the vanguard and Muhammad Bat was directed to attack from the rear.[93]

Battle in the Ravines

When the imperial advance guards came near the pass of Kumad Bal, the left wing of Kashmiri soldiers rolled down the stones and fired with muskets from the forts and forced them to retreat. Seeing the Kashmiris occupying an advantageous position on a height Qasim Khan advanced personally with Sharief Sarmadi, Mir Abdul Razzaq, Mamuri, Jalal-ud-Din Masud, Haji Mubtar Shizi and Mir Shah Mub. He also took Khanjari who had been turned back by the left wing and attacked the Kashmiris.[94] In this encounter Muhammad Bat lay dead along with many other Kashmiri generals. Unable to resist the huge Mughal force, the Kashmiris finally dispersed and fled away. The imperial force, therefore, successfully marched on the capital. Near the capital Qasim Khan imprisoned Haidar Chak, when he was found surrounded by many Kashmiri fugitives. It was owing to the suspense that Haidar Chak may not join the Kashmiris and create fresh disturbance that Qasim Khan locked him up and avoided the possibility of the next encounter.[95]

Final Annexation of Kashmir

On October 14, Qasim Khan advanced Yadgar Husain with some active men to Srinagar and himself entered the capital on October 16, 1586 A.D. On the very day he publicly proclaimed Emperor Akbar the Sovereign of Kashmir and had the Khutba read and coins minted in his name and Kashmir ceased to be an independent state.[96]

Yaqub Shah and the Mughals

Nevertheless, the Kashmiri freedom fighters did not regard

the Mughal success final and irrevocable. So long they had leaders of the freedom movement they struggled for their independence.

As we have seen that Yaqub Shah betrayed by his supporters had fled to Kishtwar to his brother-in-law, Raja Bahadur Singh. But the latter criticised and taunted him for his cowardice in having run away without resisting the Mughals. So he returned to the valley with a small following to struggle for Kashmir's independence.[97] He was joined by many other freedom lovers like Malik Hasan, Muhammad Naji, Yusuf Khan and Abdul Khan at Chirhara along with their followers.[98] Many other Kashmiris, who had turned disaffected after the imprisonment of Haidar Chak by Qasim Khan, rallied to Yaqub Shah.[99] The force under Yaqub Shah swelled to eight thousand (8,000) horse besides foot soldiers and he made Chanderkot[100] his headquarter. Shams Chak on the other hand established himself at Sopore. Yaqub Shah divided his force under two heads, one wing comprising of four thousand (4,000) horse and seven thousand (7,000) foot were placed under the command of Hasan Malik and a contingent of foot soldiers was placed under Sayyid Abul Maali.[101]

When the news of such preparation reached Qasim Khan, he at once sent a force under Mubarak Gakkar and Shaikh Daulat to chastise Yaqub Shah.[102] But as already planned by the Kashmiri leaders to avoid pitched battles and take the city by surprise, so on November 19, 1586 Yaqub Shah having left some soldiers behind in the camp made a night attack on the Mughal army at Srinagar.[103] They killed many Mughal soldiers and set the palace of Yusuf Shah, now Qasim Khan's residence, on fire. Qasim Khan, seeing the whole palace garrisoned by the Kashmiris, at once ordered to put Haidar Chak to death in prison lest he should join the rebels. Himself, with a number of gallant soldiers including Sharief Samadi and Haji Muh, came to attack Kashmiris.[104] According to the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, "in the light of the burning palace many Mughals were stonned to death by the Kashmiris. Abdul Razzaq, the incharge of the royal mint was attacked and the complete treasury looted."[105]

Qasim Khan went direct to the bank of river Jehlum to attack the freedom fighters from there. But in the meantime the news of Haidar Chak's execution spread like a wild fire among the Kashmiris and they were rouse to fury and decided to take their revenge.[106] They attacked Mughals violently in every nook and corner killing their important generals, forced them to escape in different directions.[107] But soon, the weakness fell in the army of Yaqub Shah when the leaders turned against each other. Elated at their initial success, they crept into evil designs and every one of them started calling himself king.[108] The internal creeks and crevices among the Kashmiri troops finally led to the withdrawal of the struggle for freedom and Qasim Khan was able to bring the situation under control.[109]

Withdrawal of the Struggle

Taking advantage of the internal dissensions among Yaqub's troops, the Mughals attacked them from different sides. Muhammad Khan attacked them from front, Khanjari, another Mughal general attacked from back, Yaqub Shah, finding himself unequal in conflict with them fled away with his partymen. Still many of his partymen were killed while fleeing.[110] Abul Maali,[111] took refuge in the house of Kahman Zamindar.[112] At dawn when Qasim Khan heard of Yaqub's flight, he scattered his force in pursuit of him under Mirza Ali Akbar Shahi, Gujar Khan and Muh Khan. But since Yaqub Shah had fled much far away in Desu, the generals returned unsuccessful.[113]

This victory strengthened the morale of the Mughals and Qasim Khan began to send scouring parties to reduce the various parts of Kashmir kingdom. At the same time he despatched a force under Mubarak Khan Gakkar against Shams Chak and Husain Khan who had raised disturbance at Sopore. As soon as the Mughals reached Danawari Shams Chak with his partymen made a night attack on them, but was defeated and he again fled to Sopore. From there, owing the approach of winter season, he left for Karnah.[114] Other Kashmiri chiefs too dispersed to the hills. While Yaqub Shah retired to Kishtwar

along with his brother Ibrahim Chak and Aiba Chak, Miran Sayyid Abul Maali went to Nagam[115] and some of the leaders took refuge with the zamindars of the surrounding territories.[116] But Husain Khan, Yusuf Khan, and Muhammad Bat, the chief adherents of Yaqub Shah realising discretion better part of valour, submitted to Qasim Khan on December 9, 1586. They were pardoned and granted jagirs. Similarly, many other Kashmiri rebels also submitted and joined the Mughal force.[117]

Though an admirable general, Qasim Khan acted like an unwise statesman. The success against Kashmiris swelled his head and he became oppressive and suppressed the Kashmiris during the winter season. He arrested their leaders and compelled them to disgorge their assets etc., which they had collected during the regime of Yaqub Shah.[118] As a result, as soon as the summer season came near, the Kashmiri soldiers began to fly away from the Mughal custody and again joined their leaders at different places. Qasim Khan suspected Sayyid Mubarak a Sunni divine (who was leading a retired life), Khan-i-Khana, Baba Khalil, a Shia divine, and Baba Mehdi (both of whom were leading a life of privation) for inciting the Kashmiris against the Mughals. All these leading men were imprisoned and sent to Emperor Akbar at Delhi as political prisoners on March 8, 1586.[119]

Renewal of Freedom Struggle

As soon as, the winter season ceased and snow had thawed, the Kashmiri fighters renewed the struggle which was ceased during chilly season. Yaqub Shah, with his brothers Aiba Khan and Ibrahim Khan and the Zamindars of Brang returned from Kishtwar and encamped near Dakkun in the pargana Vular.[120] Miran Sayyid Abul Maali, Ibrahim Khan, Naji Raina, the zamindars of Barbal along with his sons and Bharam Nayak, Ahmed Nayak, Zamindars of Nagam, Zamindars of Kattar came from Lar to join Yaqub Shah, while Shams Chak returned from Karnah and stationed at Sopore.[121] For some time there were daily skirmishes between the Mughals and the Kashmiris, but they did not lead to any decisive results. Eventually, Qasim Khan despatched a force under

Jalal Khan against Abul Maali, another force Mubarak Khan against Shams Chak, while himself marched with eight hundred horse against Yaqub Shah.[122] As soon as Yaqub Shah came to know of this, he gave Qasim Khan a dodge and escaped towards the capital for its loot. But he was rapidly followed by the latter and before Yaqub Shah could plunder the city Qasim Khan also reached there. So Yaqub Shah went to Gasu.[123] Now Qasim Khan sent another force under Sayyid Abdullah against him. A conflict ensued there and the Mughals being handicapped by a heavy fall of snow, narrowness of the passes and the slipperiness of the road, were defeated.[124] Mirza Ali was killed with all his men.[125] Raja Jai Singh, a brave Rajput Mughal commander also was killed with his party of forty Rajputs. The total loss of the Mughals according to Suka was about three hundred.[126] A good number among the Mughals were imprisoned, and some escaped to Qasim Khan while Yaqub Shah moved to the Takht-i-Sulaiman[127] and encamped there.[128]

Next day Qasim Khan himself marched against Yaqub Shah, but the latter left for Kamraj and Qasim Khan returned to the capital. He also recalled Jalal Khan Gakkar and Mubarak Khan Gakkar to the city.[129]

Joint Attack of Yaqub Shah and Shams Chak

Yaqub Shah who had encamped at the Takht-i-Sulaiman made from there overtures to Shams Chak through Aiba Khan and Abul Maali. Since Shams Chak responded favourably, Yaqub Shah sent him to Andarkul[130] and himself went to the hills of Takht-i-Sulaiman to attack the Mughals from there.[131] Hearing this, Qasim Khan decided to send force against each Kashmiri leader, but his counsellors did not approve of this scheme and suggested to attack Yaqub Shah first. Accordingly Qasim Khan attacked Yaqub Shah. The former would have again suffered defeat but fortunately for him Naurang Chak, Yaqub Shah's commander-in-chief was killed by an arrow which pierced his eye and Shams Chak too could not reach there because of his being far away at Andarkul. Consequently, Yaqub Shah withdrew from the field.[132]

However, the reverse did not dismay Yaqub Shah because he had set up his mind to struggle against the Mughals till his last breathe. He prepared for the next encounter. But this time he decided to make joint attack on the Mughals. He, therefore, joined Shams Chak at Hanjik and attacked the Mughals from there.[133] The Mughals were defeated and badly routed and lost one thousand and five hundred men. They were pursued by Malik Hasan upto the field of Zalidgarh in Srinagar. The victory enabled Yaqub Shah and Shams Chak to establish themselves on the Koh-i-Maran and the Mughals, on the other hand were reduced to a sad plight. Henceforward, for complete two months they dared not come out of the city, being subject to continuous harassment.[134] The Kashmiris further troubled them by making surprise attacks on city, cutting down the stragglers and intercepting their supplies.[135]

Petition of Qasim Khan

Qasim Khan, though admittedly a brave general, got tired of these incessant annoyances and the continuous harassment from the two Kashmiri patriots Yaqub and Shams. This state of affairs made him so much despondent that he petitioned Emperor Akbar for his recall.[136] His petition was accepted by the Emperor and Muhammad Yusuf Khan Rizvi[137] was ordered to proceed in his place to Srinagar. He also nominated Sayyid Mubarak, who had lately been sent to Akbar's Darbar by Raja Bhagwan Das from Srinagar. But since Sayyid Mubarak was a religious man and was passing the life of sanctity and seclusion, he refused to comply his orders. The Emperor, therefore, as a matter of punishment, sent him to Shahbaz Khan Kambu in Bengal. After one year when Shahbaz Khan had gone to pay his deep respects before the Emperor, Sayyid Mubarak died and Shahbaz Khan received his sad news at Firuzabad.[138]

Arrival of Yusuf Rizvi in Kashmir

In the beginning of the year 1588 A.D.[139] Yusuf Khan Rizvi under the order of Emperor Akbar set out with a force

of about twenty thousand soldiers to Kashmir. He was accompanied by a number of valiant generals like, Jagan Nath, Husain Beg, Mulla Talib Ishfani, Umri, Qara Beg, besides many other persons. Among the Kashmiri nobles, Baba Khalil, a Shia divine and Muhammad Bat were to act as guides and were to win over the (Nayaks) guardians of the passes.[140]

It was further ordered by the Emperor that Qasim Khan should be returned to the court as soon as the Kashmiris (Abul Fazl had called them wild men) would be completely freed from the menace of the freedom fighters.[141]

When Yaqub Shah heard of the coming of Yusuf Rizvi to re-inforce Qasim Khan, he hurriedly sent Lohar Chak son of Bahram Chak and Ismail Nayak to barricade the passes. But the moments Nayaks came to know about Baba Khalil and Muhammad Bat with Yusuf Rizvi they at once joined the Mughals. The other nayaks too joined the Mughals at different stations, as they had been doing during the invasions by Bhagwan Das and Qasim Khan.[142] The news of these mischievous Nayaks caused great anxiety and distress in Kashmir. The followers of Yaqub Shah also started deserting him and submitted to Yusuf Rizvi. Seeing all round defections Yaqub Shah in disgust went away to Kishtwar with his brothers and Sayyid Abul Maali. Similarly Shams Chak and Shams Duni left for Poonch to pass the days of penury and other men of the freedom struggle took asylum in the mountains.[143]

Yusuf Rizvi entered the valley without any bloodshed on February 15, 1588 and relieved Qasim Khan of his fear.[144] He gave leave to Qasim Khan who bid adieu to Kashmir and reached the imperial court with Alamsher Magre, and many other leading Kashmiri men on February 26, 1588 A.D.[145]

Yusuf Rizvi according to the direction of the Emperor Akbar stationed his 300 war elephants in Jamia Masjid Srinagar. The mosque was so much wide, writes Abul Fazl that though on both sides elephants were kept in orderly rows there was still enough space remaining empty.[146]

Policy of Yusuf Rizvi in Kashmir

At Kashmir Yusuf Rizvi followed a policy of conciliation

and won over many chiefs of the valley with the help of Muhammad Bat, a good planner. He bestowed upon them royal robes and gifts and honoured some top ranking leaders with jagirs. This he did only to win Kashmiri chiefs to his side and side by side turned them against their leading generals Yaqub Shah, Abul Maali and Shams Chak.[147]

Fresh Disturbances from Freedom Fighters

In the beginning of the summer 1588, Shams Chak and Shams Duni returned from Poonch and started fresh disturbance. Yusuf Rizvi at once deputed Muhammad Bat with the Mughal generals, Bahau-ud-Din, Mubarak Khan, Jalal Khan and Sayyid Daulat against Shams Chak. When they reached Pargana Birwal in Nasu, Shams Chak and his attendants made a night attack upon them and killed a number of the Mughals.[148]

But, however, they finally suffered a defeat at the hands of the Mughals and Shams Chak fled back to Poonch.[149] After this victory, Yusuf Rizvi, distributed prizes among his soldiers and encouraged them against Yaqub Shah. By doing this he turned the Kashmiris against their own leaders.[150]

Elated over his success against Shams Chak, Muhammad Bat turned proud and began to boost of his bravery and called Yaqub Shah and Abul Maali the two cowards. When Yaqub Shah heard his boastful talks he at once marched from Kishtwar along with Abul Maali and encamped at Panjyari in Dachan Khrour.[151]

Yusuf Rizvi sent a force under Muhammad Bat and Hanji Miraki, once a famous soldiers of Yaqub Shah, against them. The two decided to imprison them by trick and sent a messenger to persuade Yaqub Shah to submit. But Yaqub Shah on the advice of Abul Maali rejected the overtures and declared to die a hero's death rather than to wear fetters of slavery.[152] It was further decided by Yaqub Shah and Abul Maali to open the battle swiftly before the enemy could take any chance to garrison the whole force. Accordingly, under a plan Yaqub Shah with 500 horse and foot attacked the Mughals, advance

guard. Although he obtained victory over the advance guard led by Muhammad Mir, yet it proved indecisive as the battle had to be suspended on that day on account of torrent rains.[153] Yaqub Shah withdrew to the pargana of Vular to reorganise his force But he found treachery was rife in his camp for his disloyal troops were going over to the Mughals. So with some troops at his disposal, he crossed over the river Lonkani and ascended the top of the hill called Naristan and encamped there. Next morning when Muhammad Bat and Muhammad Mir advanced to attack him, he escaped to Kishtwar with Mirza Ibrahim Khan and Aiba Khan, without offering any resistance.[154] Sayyid Abul Maali, a heretical fighter, who tried to put up a fight with the Mughals was taken prisoner in the village of Chrar. When he was brought before Yusuf Rizvi, the latter received him honourably because of his bravery.[145]

Submission of Shams Chak and Other Freedom Fighters

These unexpected developments convinced Shams Chak, that any further resistance to the Mughals was futile and so through the mediation of Bahau-ud-Din, he too surrendered to Yusuf Rizvi. He was forgiven and provided royal horse but shortly after he was sent to Emperor Akbar.[156] After this, Abdal Chak's son Aiba Khan also returned from Kishtwar and submitted to the Mughals. He was also sent to Delhi at the demand of Prince Salim.[157] Similarly, Sayyid Husain Baihaqi, Lohar Chak, Ismail Duni and many other Kashmiri leaders were imprisoned and sent to Delhi.[158] In fact, the policy of Yusuf Rizvi was to deprive Kashmiris of their leaders who were the pivot of all disturbances. So, while a number of Kashmiri leaders were sent to Delhi, many of them were executed at Kashmir and in this way, the revolutionary spirit among the Kashmiris was cooled down.[159]

Akbar's first Visit to Kashmir, June 25, 1589

After bringing the affairs of state to a normal position, Yusuf Rizvi wrote a detailed report to Emperor Akbar and

invited him to visit the valley. Emperor Akbar who had always bore Kashmir in his mind and kept before his eyes its delightful climate, started on April 27, 1582 to pay his first visit to Kashmir.[160] He selected the Bhimber route. Since it was still quite difficult to tread and at places perilous for the imperial cavalcade, so he sent in advance, three thousand stone cutters, mountain miners and splinterers of rocks and two thousand beldars (diggers) to level the ups and downs of the road.[161] Emperor Akbar himself arrived at Bhimber on May 19, 1589 and was welcomed by Yusuf Rizvi near Bahram Galla,[162] near Rajauri. On June 25, 1589 at 8 A.M., the Emperor alighted at the lofty palace of Yusuf Shah Chak at Srinagar.[163]

Emperor Akbar remained in Kashmir upto the end of July 1589. During his stay he toured the valley by the river Jehlum on Takht-i-Rawan (river palaces surrounded with flower garden on the surface of water), which had been specially designed for him. He visited Pampur, Bijbehara, Anantnag, Nandimarg, and Achabal on the one side and Shahabuddinpur, Sopore, and Baramulla on the other.[164]

Yaquf Shah Chak's Submission

The most important event that occurred during Emperor Akbar's presence al Kashmir was the submission tendered by Yaqub Shah Chak. After the imprisonment of Abul Maali, he had once again sought refuge at Kishtwar and was living a life of consternation and in constant fear lest the zamindars of Kishtwar should seize him and deliver him upto the Mughals.[165] His anxiety grew more when he heard about Emperor Akbar's arrival in Kashmir. He decided to give up the struggle and submit to Emperor Akbar. Thus, before coming personally to Kashmir, he send his brother Aiba Chak for obeisance before the Emperor Akbar. Aiba Chak was granted audience on July 11, 1589 at Nandimarg.[166] Here he also submitted the petition of forgiveness on behalf of Yaqub Shah, to the Emperor and succeeded to plead for him the audience before the Emperor.[167]

Accordingly on July 23, 1589, Yaqub Shah did his personal homage to the Emperor at Patan, who sent him with Hasan Bag Turkman to Raja Man Singh at Rohtas.[168] It was a sort

of punishment to him and to his followers, that they might be sent far from their homes and also that they might be reduced to some measure of quiescence.[169] On the way to Etwa, near Baburpur Hasan Bag divided his men into three groups. One group was to escort the Kashmiri female prisoners, second was to guard Yaqub Shah, who was suffering from ailment and the third group was to look after the other prisoners.[170] On the way Yaqub Shah planned that his brother, Ibrahim should assassinate Hasan Bag and then all should escape. But the plan was miscarried, for when Ibrahim tried to brandish his sword over the head of Hasan Bag, the Mughal guards at once attacked him and killed. However, Yaqub Shah having repented for his part in the scandle, was forgiven and safely conducted to his father Yusuf Shah at Jaunpur. From there, after taking a letter of guarantee from Yusuf Shah, Hasan Bag sent Yaqub Shah to Raja Man Singh at Rohtas.[171]

Yaqub Shah's Death

Yaqub Shah was kept virtually a prisoner under Raja Man Singh in the fort of Rohtas for it was thought that he might not attempt to escape. When his father, Yusuf Shah died, his Jagir was transferred to Yaqub Shah but he was still kept under strict watch.[172] After more than a year, Raja Man Singh was summoned at the Royal Darbar of Emperor Akbar. Before he left for Bihar, his ears were poisoned against Yaqub Shah by the two old stupid servants of his father who were in league with Qasim Khan, alleged son of Yusuf Shah, and who had been pretending to be the son of Yusuf Shah. In fact, they had decided to kill Yaqub Shah and usurp his jagir which was to pass to Qasim Khan after Yaqub Shah.[173] They successfully convinced Man Singh that Yaqub Shah could be dangerous in his absence, if he would be left free. Therefore, it is better to keep him in confinement within the four walls of Rohtas fort. Accordingly, Yaqub Shah was confined inside the fort, till Raja Man Singh returned and permitted him to see his Jagir in Bihar. Before leaving for Jagir he went to take leave of Man Singh but in the way he first went to Qasim Khan the alleged son of Yusuf

Shah. As customary Yaqub Shah was offered poisoned betel leaf by Qasim Khan. Yaqub, out of courtesy ate it in good faith. After two days of this incident, the poison told upon his health and he turned anaemic and pale. The poison slowly affected till he died in the month of Muharram 1101 A.H. i.e. October 1593 A.D.[174] His dead body was carried to Biswak[175] from Bihar by Abul Maali,[176] who had already buried the dead body of Yusuf Shah there, and the dead body of Yaqub Shah too was buried near his grave.[177]

Character of Yaqub Shah Chak

Yaqub Shah was not only the last king of the Chak dynasty but he was the last ruler of an independent Kashmir kingdom. With his submission to Emperor Akbar, the independent rule of Kashmir came to an end and it became a province of the Mughal empire.

Among all the medieval rulers of Kashmir, he was thoroughly energetic, brave and an undaunted soldier. He displayed his bravery since he turned fit to hold sword and he finally devoted to the cause of defending the kingdom of Kashmir from the Mughals. He took the reign of kingdom when Kashmir was in internal peril and faced with external dangers. Therefore, he could not make a successful bid in building a strong kingdom. But one thing of the great credit to his character was that he did not yield easily before the Mughals and like a dare-devil continuously harassed them and drove them out numerous times. But owing to the defections caused by the mutual rivalries in his troops he finally surrendered to the Mughal Emperor, Akbar. This was his ill-fate. Had he died fighting for the independence of his country he would have left the name of a hero and an ardent fighter for the freedom of his country.

Yaqub Shah had many chronic defects too. He was an unwise administrator and a religious fanatic, which made him very unpopular among his subjects and nobles. Being a shortsighted statesman he failed to judge the existing paralysed situation of the country and indulged in many nefarious actions during the short period of his reign. Owing to his rigidity in

Shi-ite faith, the gulf between the Sunni and Shias widened, to which the evil-doers actions were as fuel to fire and they raised the banner of rebellion.

Personally Yaqub Shah possessed great valour and strength. Many events have been related of his bravery.[178]

Baba Daud Khaki in praise of Yaqub has written, "Yaqub the elder son of Yusuf, who has the title of Mirza is wise and strong, and has earned fame and name in beauty."[179] Hasan also states that Yaqub reconstructed the hospice of Shaikh-ul Alam, which had lately gutted into fire.[180]

Later Chaks and Their Activities

Though the history of the Chak rule came to an end with the submission of Yaqub Shah, the last king of the Chak dynasty, yet the spirit of nationalism among their posterity did not vanish, rather they continued their struggle for freedom incessantly, in various modes and fashions against the Mughal Governors, till finally they (Chaks) were brought to annihilation and nadir by the Sikh Governor Mian Singh.

Akbar's Second Visit to Kashmir

The second visit of Emperor Akbar to Kashmir took place in the month of October 1592[181] on account of Yadgar's episode[182] To give peace to the disturbed Kashmiris Emperor Akbar followed a magnanimous policy of conciliation, and as Abul Fazl writes, "When His Majesty's intentions were known and his great benevolence had been impressed on the hearts, the people came back to the city and rejoiced on beholding forgiveness and liberty."[183]

With the Chak faction Emperor Akbar adopted a statesman like policy and reconciled them by entering into matrimonial alliances with their leaders.[184] Under this alliance the daughter of Shams Chak was taken in marriage by the Emperor himself.[185] Mubarak Chak and Husain Chak, who were prominent zamindars of Kashmir, were also pacified and the daughters of both these zamindars were brought as espouses to

Prince Salim. In this way Emperor Akbar successfully won over the top-ranking leaders of the Chaks and restored peace.[186]

On October 31, 1592, Emperor Akbar returned to India, leaving again Yusuf Khan incharge of Kashmir.[187] In 1593, Yusuf Khan having been appointed the Governor of the Jaun Pur, Ashraf Khan was sent in his place, to make a new and proper division of jagirs among the jagirdars of Kashmir. After discharging his duties at Kashmir, Ashraf Khan returned, but died near Pathankot in 1596, in the month of June. He was succeeded by Muhammad Quli Khan.[188]

It was during the period of Ashraf Khan and Quli Khan that the Chaks suffered terribly. Many Chak lords who had been already reduced to penury, were treacherously put to the sword by Muhib Ali, who was the guard of Pargana Dachni Paruve.[189] After their general massacre in the city, Qasim Khan Nanki brought Lohar Chak and his brother under false pledges from Naushehra and killed them.[190] Similarly Husain Chak[191] was put to death by Jalal Beg in league with the people of Kamraj, whereas Hubi Chak, already a few days earlier had died by stumbling down while hunting. At the same time, in the southern provinces Shams Chak passed away and his body was buried at Baurhanpur.[192]

After the death of Shams Chak, his sons Husain Khan Chak and Zafar Khan Chak, who were in Hindustan, were bent upon revenge against the Mughals. They became more active when they learnt about the general massacre of their tribe at Kashmir. They at once advanced to Srinagar and encamped in Kamraj and Maraj respectively. From both the extremes they started raiding the capital and took away in loot whatever fell in their hands.[193]

Last Attempt for Freedom

The return of Husain Khan Chak and Zafar Khan Chak from Hindustan revived the hopes of many other Chaks who decided to fight unanimously against the Mughals. Thus the various Chak leaders including Aiba Chak[194] formed a league under Husain Chak and declared him their leader. Habib Khan

Chak, Ahmed Khan Chak and Zafar Khan Chak were the active members of the organisation.[195]

The league solicited the help of Rai Bahadur, the Raja of Ladakh who came forward with some force. Consequently they returned and encamped in the Pargana Lar where they spent about two months waiting for an opportunity. During this period they depended much on depredation and looting corn fields. The continuous delay at Lar made the Ladakhis uneasy and they returned to their country.[196] But the Chaks stationed firmly in the district of Serkot and continued their practice of loot and plunder, which caused great distress among the villagers and made them victims of famine. Tired of their marauding habits, the Mughal Commander Mirza Ali Khan made a night attack upon them and put a number of them to death and their heads were sent to Emperor Akbar.[197] After suppressing them, Mirza Ali Khan employed trickery and chicanery in bringing their complete ruin. He sent off Aiba Chak to settle in Kamraj and attacked Husain Chak near Madera and imprisoned him. But while marching back to Srinagar people fell upon Husain Chak and killed him near Danwari. Zafar Chak also attacked the Mughals with some force but he received serious wounds and fled to the Pargana Bankil.[198]

It was under these circumstances that Muhammad Quli (1593-99) was appointed the Governor of Kashmir.[199] He was a tactful administrator. With the help of Salib Qazi he won over many Chaks by means of flattery. He called upon Zaffar Chak and assured him protection. He feigned sympathy with their cause and successfully imprisoned him with his party of ten men.[200]

After ten days he handed them over to Hatim Khan Zamindar, who put all of them to death. Similarly he got Habib Chak killed by Husain Nayak, Ali Khan Chak son of Yusuf Khan Chak, Ahmed Chak, and Ali Nauroz Chak were killed by the son of Hatim Khan. Further, he issued the order to shoot at sight any Chak Zamindar, artisan, land-holder or a soldier. The rebellion was automatically fizzled out and the Chaks crumbled finally like a house of cards.[201]

Aiba Chak,[202] who was sent to Kamraj, had fled from there to Kishtwar, when he listened to the orders of Muhammad Quli. When Emperor Jahangir visited Kashmir, he sent Dilawar Khan to subdue the valley of Kishtwar. Aiba Chak, who was stirring up strifes in Kishtwar and was wandering in the valley, at once came to oppose the Mughals but was made slain.[203]

During the period of Itqad's Governorship,[204] the Chak community was totally washed away from the soil of Kashmir and those who had escaped from the talons of the Mughal Governors fled in jungles and started living on depredations and plunder.[205]

As the irony of fate, the Chaks indulged into the same marauding activities as were common among their predecessors, who flourished before Zain-ul-Abidin.[206] Thus for the Chaks, history was repeated and they once again turned ferocious and turbulent. In order to make their both ends meet many among them became the breeders of cattle and sheep and earned the name of Gulbans (Gwal, breeder of cattle) while some chose the way of dacoits.[207]

During the Pathan rule (1753-1819 A.D.) the Gulbans[208] (Chaks) openly committed robbery.

Owing to their misdeeds they have become so much troublesome in the valley that it was very difficult for the people to move freely. These Gulbans, would leave a few of their number incharge of the harem (ladies compartment), while the rest sailed-forth on their dacoity expedition.[209] Vigne writes, "A person from the city of Islamabad was in danger of being robbed on the skirts of the Wurstur-Wun-Mountain above Wenti Pur (Avantipur) on the Shahiji Marg or the King Hill on the way from city of Shupapheyan, the vicinity of Shah-Nurn-Dyn, Hiratral. On the way of Baramulla and the jungle near the village of Nunnur at the Deboucher of the Dras road and Sind river were places, particularly infested by the Gulbans. The long defile leading from Duchin Para to Gud-i-Singh was much used by them when they wished to avoid observation in passing from one end of the valley to the other."[210] A long heavy club with iron rings was their principle weapon.

Under Sikh Raj (1819-1846), a leader of Gulbans namely Kara Gulban was the head of about 300 Gulbans. He used to kidnap newly married brides. Though many among them were put to death by Diwan Kirpa Ram (1827-1831), the Sikh Governor, yet their complete ruin was brought by Sher Singh (1832-34) and Mian Singh Karnail (1834-41).[211]

During the period of these two Governors open outrageous actions of Gulbans were much complained of by the inhabitants, and having one day received intelligence that a party of them had assembled in the plain of Damudar,[212] near the city, a large force was advanced against them and eight of them were killed on the spot, while a large number of them were imprisoned. They were carried to the city where they were hanged down to the bridge of Ameera Kadal.[213] More soldiers were despatched to all the sides of the country and wherever a Gulban was seen, he was put to death on the spot or his hands and feet were cut off.[214]

Vigne states "that owing to these cruel punishments, the Gulbans had turned so much terrified that they never made any appearance. They are now afraid of owning the name of Gulbans and get livelihood as labourers or by tending horse.' "[215]

Lawrence further writes, that even Maharaja Gulab Singh (1846-1857) the Dogra ruler continued this good work and imprisoned most of these tribesmen. Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-1885) finally sent them as colonists to Bunji. Many of the Gulbans have, however, returned to Kashmir and pony-lifting frequently occurred even to this day.[216]

REFERENCES

1. *A.N.*, III, p. 724; *A.A.* (Blochmann), p. 535.
2. See Chapter 4, p. 108.
3. *B.S.*, p. 178 b; H.M., p. 160b; Suka, p. 402.
   V.A. Smith has wrongly stated that both Yusuf Shah and Yaqub Shah submitted before the Mughal general, Raja Bhagwan Das (p. 173).
4. Rodgers coins No. 35 and 37, Pt. III, R.C. Kak, p. 139. According to Abul Fazl, panegyrists and flatterers induced him

(Yaqub) to take the title of Shah Ismail (*A.N.*, III, pp. 762-63). But no Kashmir coin of the Chak period bears this name and title.

5. *B.S.*, I.178b; Hasan, p. 269.
6. *B.S.*, ff. 178a-b. The anonymous author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* writes about Ali Dar that he was a man of jocular disposition, corrupt and incompetent for the chair of Wizarat. While sitting in judgement, he could not distinguish between right and wrong. In a state of intoxication he used to commit mistakes. He was so much negligent of his duties that while in the morning he gave out one pargana of land to one man, in the evening he bestowed the same to another man. When the two fought for the same pargana and petitioned before the king, the Wazir bluntly declared that the pargana was a part of Khalisa land (ff. ibid).
7. *B.S.*, f. 173a; Azam, p. 175. Haidar Malik wrongly writes that the rebellion took place after Qazi Musa's execution and it was against religious injustice (f. 161b).
8. Hamal is ancient name of Samala in the village of Vangram.
9. *B.S.*, f. 179a. Abul Fazl is wrong in stating that Sayyid Husain was also in league with the rebels (*A N.*, p. ii, p. 763).
10. *B.S.*, f. 179a; Hasan, p. 270.
11. Ibid.
12. H.M., f. 161b; *B.S.*, f. 179b; Hasan, p. 270.
13. *A.N.*, f. III, p. 763; Azam, p. 176; H.M., f. 162a.
14. *B.S.*, f. 179b.
15. H.M., f. 162a.
16. *B.S.*, f. 179b.
17. Ibid.
18. *B.S.*, ff. 180a-b.
19. *B.S.*, ff 180a-b; Suka, p. 403. Haidar Malik has not given details of this uprising.
20. *B.S.*, ff. 180a-b; Suka, p. 403.
21. *B.S.*, f. 180b. Sufi wrongly writes that Ali Dar died of a fall from the Sopore bridge (I, p. 234).
22. *B.S.*, f. 180b.
23. H.M. f. 161b.
24. See pp. 54. 93, Supra., *B.S.*, ff. 181a-b.
25. *B.S.*, f. 181a; H.M., f. 161b.
26. *B.S.*, f. 143a; Suka, p. 396.
27. *A.N*, III, pp. 762-63.
28. Ibid., H.M., f. 161b; Suka, p. 403; Lawrence, p. 194.
29. For details of Jaziya, see pp. 217-18.
30. Suka, p. 420; *A.N.*, III, p. 763.
31. For the identification of pana see p. 245, n.3. infra.
32. Suka, p. 420; H.M., f. 161b.
33. *A.N.*, III, p. 763; H.M., f. 161b; Birbal, p. 91.
34. H.M., f. 161b; *A.N.*, III, p. 763.

35. H.M., f. 161b; Birbal, p. 91; Hasan, p. 270.
36. *A.N.*, III, pp. 762-63; H.M., f. 161b; *B.S.*, f.182a.
37. *B.S.*, f. 182; *A.N.*, pp. 762-63.
38. *A.N.*, III, pp. 762-63.
39. *A.N.*, III, pp. 762-73; *B.S.*, f. 182a.
40. See. p. 53, supra.
41. H.M., f. 150a; *B.S.*, f. 182a.
42. *A.N.*, III, p. 763; H.M., f. 161a; *B.S.*, f. 182a. The later historians, Azam and Hasan has wrongly interpreted the case of Qazi Musa's execution. According to these two historians, Yaqub Shah sent one Mulla Amin to Qazi Musa with the message to mention henceforth the name of 'Ali' in public prayers. (The Shia sect maintained that Ali was the first legitimate Imam or Khalifa to prophet Muhammad, and therefore rejected Abu Bakr, Umar and Usman, the first three khalifas of Sunni sect, as usurpers (*Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 572-80). As the Qazi refused to comply with it, he was mercilessly killed. His body was fastened with the tail of an elephant and dragged throughout the streets of the city. (pp. 175 and 270-71) respectively. Mohibbul Hasan (p. 183) has too, attributed the same cause for Qazi's execution. But none of the contemporary chroniclers has referred to this incident. Therefore, it is the fabrication of 18th century sources.
43. *B.S.*, ff. 181 a-b.
44. See p. 54, supra.
45. See p. 93, supra.
46. *A.N.*, III, p. 738.
47. *A.N.*, III, pp. 762-63.
48. Abul Fazl writes about the strategical position of the Valley, that on all the four sides, mountains which rise their heads to heaven, act as sentinels. Though there are six or seven roads, yet in all of them there are places where if some old women rolled down stones, the bravest of men, could not pass. On this account former princes did not think of conquering it and prudence turned them away from such a wish (*A.N.*, III, p. 752).
49. H.M., f. 162a; *B.S.*, f. 182b; A.N., III, p. 752. The later historian Hasan (p. 271) writes that Baba Daud Khaki was also in the company of Yaqub Sarfi. But this is wrong because no contemporary chronicler mentions this nor has Abul Fazl mentioned his name in the list of Kashmiris who had gone to Emperor Akbar (*A.N.*, III, p. 752). Mohibbul Hasan also writes about Baba Daud's participation in the company of Yaqub Sarfi (p. 184).
50. *A.N.*, III, p. 752. Abul Fazl states that before the Kashmiri nobles, Emperor Akbar condemned Yaqub that in the first place the wicked Yaqub increased in presumption and became refractory. He heard of the confused condition of the Mughal army, and abolished the treaty. Panegyrists and flatters induced him to take

the title of Ismail Shah and as he thought that he was safe behind the barrier of difficult mountains and was proceeding rapidly on evil course. H.M., addressed himself as a new conquest of the country (*A.N.*, III, p. 752).

51. Azam, p. 178; Hasan, p. 271; H.M., f. 195a (vide Mohibbul Hasan, p. 84, n. 3.)
52. They were both Gakkar, Mubarak being Sultan Sarang's grandson and Jalal, Sultan Adam's grandson (*A N.*, III, p. 752).
53. *A.N.*, III, p. 752.
54. Ibid., Suka, p. 403.
55. Suka, p. 403; *A.N.*, III, p. 752.
56. *A.N.*, III, p. 752.
57. H.M , 162; Azam, p. 179; Hasan, p. 271.
58. *A.N.*, III, pp. 752-53.
59. H.M., f. 162b; Suka, p. 404; Newal, p. 430; Azam, p. 179. Firishta (p. 529) has exaggerated the total strength of the Mughal army as forty thousand horses and twenty thousand foot. See also Rodgers, p. 138.
60. Suka calls the river Chinab by its old name Chander Baga, p. 404.
61. J.P.H., Society, IX, pp. 148-49.
62. *A.N.*, III, p. 764.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. H.M., f. 102b.
66. *B.S.*, f. 182b.
67. The place as shown on the map corresponds undoubtedly to Alpine plateau on Marg of Kacagala as known earlier on the northern slope of the Pir Panjal range (Stein, II, p. 398).
68. *A.N.*, III, 764; *B.S.*, f. 182b.
69. *B.S.*, f. 183a.
70. Ibid., Suka, p. 406; *A.N.*, III, p. 764.
71. *B.S.*, f. 183a; *A.N.*, III, p. 764; Suka, p. 406.
72. *B.S.*, f.183a; *A.N.*, III, p. 764. According to Suka, Behram Nayak went alone to the army of Qasim Khan, he stationed his men at their places and received for himself dress, ornament and wealth (p. 408).
73. *B.S.*, f. 183a.
74. *B.S.*, ff. 183a-b. Shams Chak was a leading Chak noble and was imprisoned by Yaqub Shah when the former revolted against the latter. Muhammad Bat, the deposed Wazir was also imprisoned by Yaqub.
75. *B.S.*, f, 183a; Suka, p. 406; *A.N.*, III, p. 768.
76. *B.S.*, pp. 183-84.
77. Ibid; H.M., f. 164a; Azam, p. 180. Suka writes that Yakobha (Yaqub) released Mora Mohammada (Muhammad Bat) and Shams Chaka from prison and went to Kishtwara (Kishtwar). Spoiled of

their glory these two servants did not pay their respect to Yakobha, and none served him. The soldiers disbanded themselves when Yakobha went awa*j* (p. 402).

78. H.M., p. 163; Suka, p. 406; *A.N.*, III, p. 764.
79. *A.N.*, III, p. 764.
80. Kapartal pass is modern Dhral in Rajauri. For the complete topography of Kapartal and Pir Pantsal (Panchal), see Stein, II, pp. 393-400. "The Pir Panchal is 11,400 feet high while Kapartal pass is about 13,000 feet high."
81. *A.N.*, III, p. 766; *B.S.*, f. 184a.
82. *B.S.*, f. 184a; *A.N.*, III, p. 766; *History of Rajauri State* (J.P.S. IX), p. 149.
83. Nandan Sir Lake if near Dhral in Rajauri (Stein II, p. 393).
84. *A.N.*, III, p. 766; *B.S.*, f. 184a.
85. Hastivang, a locality on Pir Pauchal route (Stein, II, p. 394).
86. *B.S.*, f. 184a; *A.N.*, III, p. 767; H.M., f. 163a; J.P.H.S., IX, p. 49.
87. *A.N.*, III, p. 766.
88. *A.N.*, III, p. 767. Abul Fazl in exaggeration and probably to appease Emperor Akbar writes, that when Jai fell senseless on the ground with twelve wounds, at once there was a storm of rain and snow and men were discomposed. Jai has been heard to say that he lost his sense in that snow storm, and that while he was insensible, H.M., appeared to him and bade him to take courage. At that time his senses returned and he acquired strength (*A.N.*, p. 767).
89. H.M., ff. 163a-b.
90. Abul Fazl writes, Kumad Bal also falls in Pir Panchal range (*A.N.*, III, p, 767). See also Stein, II, pp. 393-400.
91. *B.S.*, f. 184b; *A.N.*, III, p. 767.
92. *A.N.*, III, p. 770.
93. Ibid.
94. *B.S.*, f. 184; *A.N.*, III, p. 770. Haidar Malik writes that Muhammad Bat was not killed, but he fled away to city and stationed at Zalidgarh (H.M., f. 163b). The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* gives the account of duels fight, that it was at this time that Muhammad Chak and Baji Chak came forward from the right wing. From the Mughal side Lakha Rajput came to meet Haji Chak. Both the duellists grappled together and rolled down together. The spectators were amazed and uttered strange cries in astonishment. At this moment Jalal Khan Gakkar also came there on the horse and fell on Haji Chak but he was smote by the sword of Muhammad Chak. Zafar Khan also came forward to give fight to the Mughals but he was struck down by the arrow which Mirza Hakim pointed at him.
95. *B.S.*, f. 185a; *A.N.*, p. 770; Suka, p. 408.

96. *B.S.*, f. 185a. *A.N.*, p. 770. Suka writes that the soldiers entered the city on Sunday, the second Lunar of the night of Kartika, in the Saka year 1509 or 1586 A.D. (p. 408).

Abul Fazl (III, p. 771 Sqq). While given the description of the Mughal conquest of Kashmir, relates many myths and attributes them to be the facts. For example he writes, "Nine hundred years before a Brahmin Shiv Dat by name had made prophecy that Kashmir would pass from Hindus to Muslims and then to the Chaks till finally it would be annexed by the Mughals". Haidar Malik, the local chronicler of Kashmir also relates this myth with a little variation. Possibly he has borrowed it from Abul Fazl's text. For detailed description of this legendry story see H.M., p. 154.

97. H.M., f. 164a.
98. Ibid., Suka, p. 408.
99. *B.S.*, f. 185b; Suka, p. 408.
100. Chanderkot is a village in the Baramulla tehsil, about 29 miles (46 Km.) north-west of Srinagar. Abul Fazl writes Chanderkul (*A.N.*, III, p. 775).
101. H.M., ff. 164a-b; *A.N.*, p. 775.
102. *A.N.*, III, p. 775; *B.S.*, f. 185a.
103. *B.S.*, f. 185a; *A.N.*, III, p. 775.
104. *B.S.*, f. 185a; Suka, p. 410; *A.N.*, p. 775.
105. *B.S.*, f. 185b; See also Suka, p. 410; III, p. 775.
106. *B.S.*, f. 185b; H.M., ff. 164 a-b.
107. *B.S.*, f. 185b; Suka, p. 410; III, p. 775.
108. Suka, p. 410; *B.S.*, f. 187b.
109. *B.S.*, f. 187b; Suka, p. 410.
110. *A.N.*, p. 766; *B.S.*, f. 187b.
111. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* has praised Abul Maali for his valour and prowess which he displayed in this battle (f. 187b).
112. *B.S.*, f. 187b.
113. Ibid., *A.N.*, III, p. 776.
114. *B.S.*, f. 188b.
115. Nagam has often been called Nagrana by the Sanskrit scholars. It is situated 74°—45° long., 33° × 56 lat. Nagam is adjoined on the north by the pargana of Yech which extends to the immediate vicinity of Srinagar.
116. *B.S.*, f. 188b; Suka, p. 411; Azam, p. 182; Birbal, ff. 92.
117. *B.S.*, f. 188; Suka, p. 411; A.*N.*, III, p. 787.
118. *A.N.*, III, p. 787.
119. According to Abul Fazl the persons who were sent to the court of Emperor Akbar were received with princely favours and on 22nd of March 1587, the persons were exalted by obtaining an audience and received with princely favours. Their names were as follow :

Sayyid Mubarak, who had been raised to chiefship, Punj, the brother of Yaqub Shah, Haidar Ali, Muhammad Husain, Ahmed Husain, Hasan Chak, Husain Khan and Ibrahim Khan, the two sons of Sayyids Mubarak, Muhammad Bat and his sons, Ali Hasan, Baba Khalil, Baba Mehdi, Bahadur Ali, Bakhra Lohar, Mulla Hasan, the sons of Haidar Chak. Though at the time of the coming of the victorious troops they had exerted themselves in fighting, yet the wise sovereign adhered to the promises and treated them with good favours (*A.N.*, II, p. 787).

120. The ancient name of the pargana Vular was Holada (Sexana, p. 11).
121. *B.S.*, f. 189b; *A.N.*, III, p. 796; Suka, p. 411.
122. *B.S.*, f. 189b; Suka, p. 441. The important generals with the Mughals were Ali Khan, Sayyid Abdullah Khan, Gujjar Khan, Ali Akbar Shahi, Alam Sher Khan and Jalal Masud (*A.N.*, III, p. 788).
123. *A.N.*, III, p. 788; *B.S.*, f. 189b; H.M., ff. 105a-b. Gasu is a village in the Pulwama Tehsil in Avantipur (Stein, II, p. 28).
124. Suka, p. 412, *A.N.*, III, p. 797; Badauni, II, p. 363.
125. Suka, p. 412.
126. Suka, p. 414.
127. The old name of the hill, Takht-i-Sulaiman was Gopadari. It is standing in the vicinity of Srinagar city. Its bold pyramidal form and the old temple which crowns its summit makes this hill a most conspicuous object in the landscape of Srinagar (Stein, II, pp. 452-53).
128. *A.N.*, III, p. 797.
129. *A.N.*, p. III, p. 797; *B.S.*, f. 190b; Suka, p. 414.
130. Stein writes that Anderkoth (Anderkul) village is the site of Jayapura. This consists of two distinct parts. One lies on an island in the marshes opposite Sambal and the other facing the former on the strip of land separating these marshes from the Vitasta (Jehlum). See Stein II, p. 479.
131. *A.N.*, III, p. 797.
132. Ibid., H.M., f. 166a.
133. *A.N.*, III, p. 797; H.M., f. 166a; Azam, p. 184, Hasan, p. 309.
134. H.M., f. 161a; Hasan, p. 310.
135. *B.S.*, f. 190a; According to Abul Fazl, there is a high spot one Kos from the city. It is half a kos long and one-fourth broad. There are some ponds round about it and in front there is a pond which is difficult to cross. These two scoundrels, Yaqub and Shams, took shelter with a large following there and in season and out of season they emerged and plundered. Every day, a body of the imperialist came out to fight with them (*A.N.*, p. 798).
136. *B.S.*, f. 190a; *A.N.*, III, p. 798.

137. Yusuf Rizvi was the son of Mir Muhamad Rizvi, who was a Sayyid of Mashed and favourite of Emperor Akbar (*A.N.*, III, p. 369).
138. *B.S.*, f. 190b; *A.N.*, III, p. 798.
139. *A.N.*, III, p. 805. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* wrongly writes 1586 A.D. the date of Rizvi's march (f. 190b). Abul Fazl writes that Qasim Khan reached the court on Feb. 20, 1588 from Kashmir after bidding adieu to Yusuf Rizvi (*A.N.*, III, p. 805).
140. *A.N.*, III, p. 805; Azam, p. 124; Hasan writes, the total number of Mughal force was 25,000 (p. 310).
141. *A.N.*, III, p. 805.
142. *B.S.*, f. 191a; Suka, p. 414. Abul Fazl writes though the guards of the route did not wait upon them yet they yielded to their (Muhammad Bhat and Baba Khalil two Kashmiris) soft speeches and turned aside (*A.N.*, III, p. 798).
143. *B.S.*, f. 191b; Suka, p. 414. According to Azam, when the news of Yusuf's march was heard in Kashmir, it was decided by the wisemen of the country, that Shams Chak be sent against Yusuf Rizvi, while Yaqub Shah would defend the capital. This wise suggestion was given by one Hasan Malik who was opposed to the appointment of Lohar Chak against Yusuf Rizvi, but his advice was not followed. Consequently result was obvious (p. 185).
144. *A.N.*, III, p. 798.
145. According to Abul Fazl, Alam Sher Magre and other Kashmiri leaders were admitted to an audience by Emperor, Akbar and obtained the gratification of their wishes (*A.N.*, III, p. 798).
146. *A.N.*, III, p. 798.
147. *B.S.*, ff. 191a-b.
148. *B.S.*, f. 192b.
149. *B.S.*, f, 192a; *A.N.*, III, pp. 798-99.
150. *A.N.*, III, pp. 798-99; *B.S.*. f. 192a,
151. *B.S.*, f. 192a. The modern name of this great Pargana is Dachan Khrour which appears in Srivara's chronicle as Daksina Pura, it lies in the eastern boundary of the pargana Vular (Stein II, p. 461).
152. *B.S.*, ff. 192a-b; Suka, p. 414; Hasan, p. 311.
153. *B.S.*, ff. 194a-b; Hasan, p. 312, Suka, p. 415.
154. *B.S.*, ff. 194a-b.
155. Ibid.
156. *B.S.*, f. 195a; *A.N.*, III, p. 799.
157. *A.N.*, III, p. 799; *B.S.*, f. 195a.
158. *B.S.*, f. 196a-b.
159. Ibid.
160. *A.N.*, III, p. 817.
161. Ibid., p. 822.

162. The old name of Bahram Galla was Bhairava Galla (now known today as B.G.) (Stein, II, p. 397).
163. *A.N.*, III, p. 822.
164. Ibid.
165. *A.N.*, III, p. 846; *B.S.*, f. 196b.
166. *A.N.*, III, p. 846.
167. According to Abul Fazl Aiba Chak submitted the petition that, "on account of the intoxication of Youth and intimacy with wickedmen, what had occurred, had occurred. Now the whirlpool of repentence had taken possession of him. His (Yaqub) prayer now was that His Majesty would send him his special slipper so that he might place it on the crown of his head and prostrate himself at the holy (Emperor's) threshold. (*A.N.*, III, p. 846).
168. *A.N.*, III, p. 846; *B.S.*, f. 190b, H.M., f. 168a. Badauni wrongly writes that Yaqub submitted to Qasim Khan (II, p. 361).
169. *A.N.*, III, p. 882.
170. Ibid.
171. *A.N.*, III, p. 882. According to the anonymous author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, Yaqub Shah Chak was unknown to all these affairs and later when he came to know of this incident he condemned the actions of his brother (ff. 200 a-b).
172. *B.S.*, ff. 200a-b.
173. Ibid.
174. *B.S.*, ff. 20f-202b. We have little information in the writings of local and contemporary sources about the last days of Yaqub Shah. *Baharistan-i-Shahi* is the only source, which furnishes details of Yaqub Shah's life in Bihar. Haidar Malik possibly being the vassal of the Emperor, Jahangir, too has concealed the realities. Badauni too is silent.

    Sufi, wrongly, in support of Kishtwar chronicles writes that Yaqub died at Kishtwar in 1588 and was buried at Sarkot on the side of Chugan. His widow Shanker Devi lived there after his death and had a water course constructed from the Goganbara to town, in memory of her husband. She also got constructed a masonry tank called Darang Vai and another water course from Kali Nag to the village Zewar in his memory (*Kashmir*, I, pp. 236-37). See also *The History of Punjab State*, II, p. 64.
175. For identification of Biswak see Appendix B.
176. Abul Maali, the son of Sayyid Mubarak, was a devoted follower of the Chaks. He first carried the dead body of Yusuf Shah to Biswak in Bihar, where it was cremated. When Yaqub Shah died, he made the full arrangements for the cremation of his dead body. He himself died in Bihar. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* says that as far the cause of his own death, an abscess appeared in his buttocks, and itching caused in his all bones. All the Hakeems and doctors failed to cure the disease and he died. His

dead body was carried to Tandal in Bengal. During the last days of his life, he too like Yaqub delivered sermonizing lectures (*B.S.*, ff. 203a-b).

177. *B.S.*, ff. 203a-b.
178. Rafi-ud-Din (p. 122) writes, "that one day the emperor Akbar, in order to test the bravery of Kashmiri patriots, called Yaqub Shah, Shams Chak and Habib Chak in an open Darbar. He set free three intoxicated elephants against them. The three Chak patriots grappled with them. Yaqub Chak seized the elephant from his trunk and with full force brought it out. Similarly Shams Chak brought out the trunk of the second elephant, the third elephant was driven out with fatal wound.
179. *Gusliyya*-Yusuf Shah, p. 5.
180. Hasan, I (MS), p. 352. The hospice was build by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70).
181. *A.N.*, III, p. 950.
182. Yadgar was the nephew of Mirza Yusuf Khan Rizvi, who had gone to the court leaving Yadgar in charge of his place. In the absence of Yusuf Khan Rizvi, Yadgar declared himself the king of Kashmir and raised a rebellion. But the rebellion was quickly suppressed and Yadgar was taken prisoner and beheaded by the orders of Emperor Akbar (*A.N.*, III, p. 950).
183. *A.N.*, III, pp. 950-51.
184. *A.N.*, p. 956.
185. *A.N.*, III, p. 959, n. 3; Hasan, pp. 319-20; Azam, p. 182.
186. *A.N.*, III, p. 958; Azam, pp. 107, Hasan, pp. 319-20.
187. *A.N.*, III, p. 959.
188. Ibid., *A.A.P.*, 529.
189. *B.S.*, f. 205a.
190. *B.S.*, f. 205b.
191. Ibid., Hasan (p. 321) writes Husain Chak with different name.
192. *B S.*, f. 209a; Hasan, p. 321. Burhanpur, its old designation probably was Bahaurpura, is situated at the present village of Biru, 70°-37° long. 30° lat.
193. *B.S.*, f. 205 b; Hasan, p. 321.
194. Aiba Chak, son of Husain Chak should not be confused with Aiba Chak son of Abdal Chak, who had already joined the services under Prince Salim (*B.S.*, f. 195b). Under Jahangir, Aiba Chak showed his great valour in killing Sher Afghan, the Jagirdar of Burdwan, and also lost his life in that contest. This story has also been narrated by Abul Fazl, who writes that Sher Afghan's wife Mihr-un-Nisa (Nurjahan) was coveted by the Emperor Jahangir, and the Emperor wanted to kill him. Consequently, Qutb-ud-Din and Aiba Chak were sent to fulfil this mission and they successfully carried out the enterprise (*A.A.*, Bloochman, p. 557); and (*A.N.*, III, p. Index No. 4). According to the

author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* in this battle Qutb-ud-Din was killed by Sher Afghan. But he was soon engaged in a battle by Aiba Chak. Sher Afghan fell down when the sword of Aiba Chak crossed his half neck. But before Sher Afghan closed his eyes, he also threw his sword upon Aiba Chak. Thus, both fell down dead in the field. (For details see *B.S.*, pp. 209-12).

195. Lar, old Lahara in the vicinity of the Sindh valley, one of the great trade route to Ladakh (Stein, II, p. 488).
196. *B.S.*, f. 206a; Hasan, p. 321; *A.A.*, p. 329.
197. Ibid.
198. *B.S.*, f. 207a.
199. *B.S.*, f. 207b; Hasan, p. 321; Dr. Parmu, p. 296.
200. *B.S.*, f. 208a.
201. *B.S.*, ff. 208a-b; Hasan, p. 321.
202. *Tuzuk* (II, p. 135) writes Gohar Chak for Aiba Chak.
203. Ibid.
204. Itqad Khan was the brother of Asaf Khan. He was famous for his refined manners of dress and diet. In 1622, Jahangir appointed him governor of Kashmir with the rank of 6,000 Zat and Sawar. In 1634, he was dismissed from Kashmir by the orders of Shahjahan for his notorious and highhanded innovations. He died in 1649 (Masir-ul-Umera Bib. Ind.), Vol. I, pp. 180-82).
205. *Tusuk*, II, p. 136; *A.A.*, p. 529.
206. See chapter 1, p. 3, sqq.
207. Vigne, p. 301; Lawrence, p. 307; Hasan, p. 523.
208. Vigne, who travelled in Kashmir in the early eighteenth century came in contact with the Gulbans (Chaks). He writes, "the 'Gulbans' or 'Gulwans' take care of the horse and has likewise the credit of stealing them and receiving eight traks of rice for the care of a horse during the grazing season." He further writes that the Gulwans are the descendants of the old warlike tribes of Chakk (Chak) who were warriors of Kashmir (p. 301).

    Lawrence on the other hand has called the Gulbans the descendants of Dumbs. He writes, "their dark complexion suggests they are not the same race as the Kashmiri peasants, others think that they are the descendants of the Tsak (Chaks) tribe. But as far as I know, there is no evidence to support the latter theory. Originally they earned their livelihood by grazing ponies, but as time went on they found it more remunerative to steal them and they eventually developed into an established criminal tribe" (p. 307 sqq.).

    But since we have no information about the Dumbs being shepherd in the early part of Kashmir history, it is not wrong to say that the Gulbans were no other class than the descendants of the Chaks.

209. Vigne, p. 301., Lawrence, p. 311; Hasan, p. 529.
210. Vigne, p. 302.
211. Vigne, p. 302; Hasan, p. 302; Sufi, II, p. 731.
212. Damudar, an arid alluvial plateau is situated in the centre of Pargana Yech, which extends to the immediate vicinity of Srinagar. For the complete identification of Damudar Plateau see Stein, II, p. 475.
213. Vigne, p. 302; Lawrence, p. 312; Hasan, p. 529.
214. Vigne, p. 302; Hasan, p. 529.
215. Vigne, p. 305, Lawrence, p. 312.
216. Lawrence, p. 312.

6

Administrative Structure

The Central Government

The thirty-two years of the Chak rule was remarkable for internal dissensions as well as external interference. While internally, the practice of aggressive jingoism, war, violence and treachery were commonly practised by the mischief-mongers, externally, the Chak rulers had to meet their strongest rival in the person of Emperor Akbar who at any rate was determined to assimilate the Kashmir kingdom in his empire. In the process of meeting these challenges, the Chaks frittered away major portion of their time and energy, thus adversely affecting the much needed reorganisation of the administrative machinery. However, the contribution which the Chak house made in the sphere of administration is no less significant. Hitherto, the whole administration had been deteriorating owing to the misdeeds of the later Shahmir rulers but now it was revitalised and despite intricate problems, many Chak rulers tried with varying degree of success to infuse vigour and efficiency into the administration. And in this way, law and order was established, peasants protected from rapacious officials, agriculture promoted and refractory chiefs suppressed in the kingdom.

It is difficult to present a comprehensive picture of the administrative structure during the Chaks, owing to the absence

of any treaties on administration. However, relying on the stray reference in the chronicles, a general administrative outline is attempted here. The Chaks did not bring any striking change in the administration except some minor reforms which were effected at the time of need. The result was that the already established institutions were retained and revitalised till the end of the Chak rule.

Territorial Extent, Dependencies and Tributary States

The neighbouring territories over which the Kashmir rulers extended their sway time and again were : Ladakh, Baltistan, Tibet, Pakhli, Gakkar, Buniar, Dardo, Poonch, Rajauri, Naushehra, Bhimber, Kishtwar and Doda. During the hey-days of Hindu power, its territorial limits extended beyond its natural boundaries. The conquests of Lalitaditya (724-60) extended as far as Central Asia in the north-west and the Punjab in the south.[1] Accordingly, the ambitious Sultan Shahab-ud-Din (1335-74) was driven to the career of conquests and extended his control over the neighbouring states after the manner of Lalitaditya.[2] Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70) re-established the sovereignty of Kashmir over Ladakh and Baltistan also.[3]

But the glorious reign of Zain-ul-Abidin was followed by a long period of political disorder. Such a situation made it easy for all the chiefs and Rajas of the neighbouring hill territories to declare independence and stop paying tribute. The nature and extent of the kingdom hereafter kept fluctuating in accordance with the political exigencies, capacity and attitude of the Kashmir rulers. It was, however, left to the Chaks to re-establish the control of Kashmir over all these hill states. The first Chak ruler, Ghazi Shah led his successful military campaigns against all the neighbouring territories and the outer hill states like Ladakh, Baltistan, Gakkar, Poonch, Rajauri and Kishtwar which became his tributaries.[4] No further extension was made by any other Chak ruler after Ghazi Shah Chak. However, chief of Kishtwar twice renounced the supremacy of Ali Shah Chak, but each time his state was subdued and the Raja forced to renew the payment of tribute.[5] The boundaries of the kingdom of Kashmir

remained unchanged till it was annexed by Emperor Akbar in 1586 A.D.

Ideal of Kingship

The Chak government like those of the Shahmir rulers, was an absolute monarchy, both in legal and political sense. But it was not an unrestrained autocracy. Their authority had its checks in the code of law, the nobility and the ulema. Of course, it depended upon the ability and attitude of each individual ruler.

Like their Delhi counterpart Emperor Akbar, the Chak kings had the Khutba read and the coins struck in their own name. In theory, they concentrated all legislative, executive, and judicial powers, in their hands, but in practice, they were kind and benevolent kings and their rule was an enlightened autocracy. Yaqub Shah Chak was the only Chak king, who attempted to establish himself as an ideal Muslim king whose primary functions according to Muslim jurists were :

(i) to promote and maintain the faith, defend the territories of Islam, and wage a holy war against its enemies; and

(ii) to discharge his legal and public duties as the supreme judge and administrator, with the help of his officers, to collect rates and taxes, to keep in touch with public affairs.[6]

In the sweep of his religious enthusiasm enforced by the exhortations of religious fanatics, Yaqub Shah Chak was carried of his balance and committed atrocities both on the non-Muslim and Sunni-Muslim subjects alike.[7] The result was a widespread confusion which was exploited by Emperor Akbar who annexed the kingdom.

Except Yaqub Shah Chak, for all the other Chak kings nothing was dearer than the welfare of their subjects. During the period of famine people were comforted, their taxes remitted, and they were fed from the royal storage.[8]

In administrative matters, the king consulted his council of ministers including the Wazir. Although the final decisions

rested with the king, yet the council was composed of members belonging to the powerful landowning families which prevented his rule from turning into despotism. When the king was weak, the councillors and nobles wielded real powers and set up or deposed the rulers, declared war or made peace, and even parcelled out the kingdom among themselves at will.[9] Such a situation proved disastrous to the kingdom, for it led to centrifugal tendencies and prevented the establishment of a strong centralised government. It also led to the formation of groups, to constant scramble for power, and to evil war and rebellions.

The progress of learning and of learned men, calligraphy, dance and music added greater lustre and dimensions to the kingship of the Chak rulers. In showing religious tolerance, Yusuf Shah Chak even surpassed Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70) and even abolished the Jaziya on the non-Muslims.[10]

For enforcement of the Shariat, the exalted office of Shaikh-ul-Islam was set up by the Shahmir rulers. But its functions were taken over by Qazi-ul-Qazzat under the Chaks and all of them consulted him in all religious matters. The Qazi-ul-Qazzat decided cases, according to Islamic law, which was binding on all.[11]

Thus, by holding liberal principles, the Chak king unmistakably demonstrated that a Muslim kingship was capable of giving full status of citizenship to its non-Muslim subjects in practice, if not in theory.

Insignia of Sovereignty

Various prerogatives of royalty were associated with the kings of Kashmir, like those of Delhi, which conferred some exclusive privileges on them by virtue of their sovereign status. Like other kings before them, the Chak kings also enjoyed certain distinctive features or symbols which were necessary to maintain their dignity and to distinguish them from the nobility and other retinues of the court.[12]

Titles

All the Muslim rulers of Kashmir, like their Delhi counter-

parts, adopted the title of the Sultan. But the Chaks made a departure; they assumed the titles of Khan, Ghazi, Malik, and Padshah.[13] Ghazi Shah took the title of Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Ghazi.[14] Husain Shah issued the coins with the name and title of Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Husain Padshah. Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Ali Padshah was the name and title assumed by Ali Shah Chak. Yusuf Shah Chak and Yaqub Shah Chak also adopted the same title after the fashion of Husain Shah.[15] According to Abul Fazl, Yaqub Shah also called himself Ismail Shah.[16] But it is not corroborated by any local chronicle or any coin of the Chak period. Being the contemporary of Emperor Akbar, the Chak rulers were influenced by him in matters of the assumption of titles.

Khutba, Sikka and Other Symbols of Sovereignty

Recitation of the khutba and striking of coins in their own name was considered as an important symbol of sovereignty by the Sultans of Kashmir. The Chak kings also continued the custom and read out the khutba in their own name, against the old practice of reciting the khutba in sermons before Friday prayers in the name of the Caliph of Baghdad or Abbasid of Cairo or any of the twelve Shia Imams.[17] But under political pressure of Emperor Akbar, Ali Shah Chak and Yusuf Shah Chak read out the khutba and issued coins in his name and accepted his supremacy. Thus, the exclusive privilege of the king to issue coins bearing his name and title and to recite the khutba in his name were surrendered by two Chak rulers mentioned above.

To sit on the throne and to wear the crown were other prerogatives of the Chak kings. They could also use Umbrella (Chatr) and fly whiskers (chauri). The latter two had been the insignia of sovereignty under the Hindu kings and were also adopted by the Muslim rulers. The crown and chatr were of great importance. Whenever a king abdicate, "he handed over the crown and chatr to his successor".[18] In 1554, Ghazi Shah's brother Ali Shah took away the crown from the head of Sultan Habib Shah, the last Sultan of the

Shahmiri dynasty, and placed it on that of Ghazi Shah. And he was declared king.[19] Similarly, when Yusuf Shah was forced to quit the throne, he sent the crown and chatr by the hand of Baba Khalil to Sayyid Mubarak, who became king. Later on, Mubarak too sent it to Lohar Shah Chak who took his seat on the throne.[20]

The Chak kings are also recorded to have exercised another royal privilege of distributing 'Khilats' (robes of honour) after the old Persian fashion,[21] and gave honours, titles and prizes.[22] The common titles conferred to their favourite nobles were Ghazi, Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, Ulugh Khan-i-Azam,[23] Khan-i-Zaman, Malik, Ghazi, Amir, Amir-ul-Umara, Sipah Salar and Sar Khul.[24] We also find references to the use of royal banner by the king in the time of war. Yusuf Shah Chak held the royal banner in the hand of his son Yaqub, while marching against Raja Bhagwan Das, the Mughal general.[25] Other insignia of royalty in use before and during the Chak periods were the Treasury,[26] the Royal Stable[27] and the Artillery. The chariot had also been an emblem of royalty under the Hindu rulers,[28] and the Shahmirs, before the Chaks and also recorded to have exercised this privilege. It may be presumed that this symbol of royalty was not discontinued by the Chaks.

Royal Household

The whole machinery centred round the strong personality of the king, and the Royal Household was, as such, the centre of all governmental activity. Under the Muslim rulers of Kashmir, the Royal Court assumed new dimensions and became the chief source of patronage and inspiration for all cultural affairs in the kingdom. The manifold activities associated with the king necessitated a well-organised hierarchy of officials operating in the Royal Household at different levels. One of the most important officials under the Muslim rulers were Pratihara (Minister-in-waiting).[29] Nobody could meet the king without his permission. Under Pratihara, there were several men employed to perform a variety of unspecified duties

including those of guarding the palace gates. He also had a military contingent under him for protection of the royal establishment.[30] Sayyid Husain and Shams Duni, the two palace guards had to fight against the rebels, who tried to enter King Yaqub's palace in his absence. They finally succeeded in overpowering them.[31] Similarly, King Husain Shah Chak's palace guard, Masud Nayak, saved the 'Diwan-i-Khana' of the royal palace, when it was set on fire by the disaffected nobles. He also successfully captured and imprisoned the rebels. The king honoured Masud with the title of Khan-i-Zaman and Khan-i-Khanan.[32]

The Royal Stable was a wing of supreme military importance in the Royal Household and every used to have his covetous eye on this exalted office. The designation of the officer incharge of the Royal Stable is not mentioned in any Kashmir chronicles. But under the Sultans of Delhi, it is mentioned as Amir-i-Akhur.

Other important functionaries of the Royal Household were the Royal Physician, the Royal Astrologer, the Poet-Laureate, and the Guardian of the Passes. But, unfortunately, we have no reference to the existence of the first two functionaries during the Chak regime. However, one can hardly imagine the position of Royal Household without a physician or an Astrologer. The chroniclers speak of Ahmed Kashmiri and Mulla Mir Ali as the favourite Poet-Laureates of King Husain Shah.[33] Baba Khaki was the Guardian of both Yusuf Shah Chak and Yaqub Shah Chak.[34] Nothing has either been recorded about the Royal Kitchen or about the designation of the officer who controlled it.

Council of Ministers

Like other rulers, in Kashmir and elsewhere, the Chak kings were assisted by a Chouncil of Ministers called synonymously by the Sanskrit chroniclers as Amatya Parishad[35] or Mantri Sabha.[36] It was a sort of an advisory body enjoying the king's confidence. Its members held the office at the pleasure of the king. On crucial issues and matters relating to administration, foreign policy including war and peace, they met in body to

discuss and it was upto the king to accept or reject their advice. But, since the Council was composed of members drawn from the powerful land-owning families and nobles, it had a say and did much to prevent the king's rule turning despotic. Suka speaks of Ali Shah that, "attended by great council, the king judged the people and the enquiries which he made to ascertain the truth were always effective."[37] King Yusuf Shah rejected the advice of his councillors and surrendered to the Mughals despite their opposition and warnings.[38]

When the king was weak, the real power was in the hands of nobles who were the members of the Council. Sayyid Mubarak and Lohar Shah, the two nobles, successfully overthrew Yusuf Shah and ruled Kashmir one after another.[39] Apart from their executive functions, the ministers-in-council also assisted the king in deciding cases which came before him.[40] During periods of emergency they even exercised the power of making or deposing the king, and some time even solved the problem of succession to the throne.[41] The Council of Ministers does not appear to have had a fixed number and its membership varied from time to time. The position of a minister depended on his ability and efficiency.[42]

Departments and Officials

The Wazir

The highest official in the State was the Wazir who enjoyed considerable administrative powers.[43] In the time of Hindu rulers, he was first called Mukhyamantri and later Sarvadhikara.[44] With the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir, he was redesignated as Wazir,[45] and this designation continued to be in use throughout the Muslim rule. The appointment to this high post rotated within the members of the royal family and, owing to the great importance and prestige of the office, there was a keen competition for it among the nobles. There was often an armed conflict among the nobles for this exalted office,[46] and during thirty-two years of the Chak rule, there was a quick succession of eleven nobles to the Chair of

Wizarat. Ghazi Shah appointed Sayyid Mubarak his Wazir.[47] Husain Shah had three Wazirs : Muhammad Naji, Lauli Malik and Ali Koka one after the other. Ali Shah had Sayyid Mubarak his Wazir. Under Yusuf Shah, the post rotated with three nobles, namely, Muhammad Bat, Naji Malik, and Khwaja Qasim. Similary, it passed on the Ali Dar, Muhammad Bat and Nazuk Bat under Yaqub Shah.[48] The appointment or dismissal of a noble to this post was made by the king himself. Any Wazir found guilty of corruption or sedition was dismissed and punished. King Husain Shah dismissed his Wazir Lauli Malik on the charge of embezzling forty thousand kharwars of paddy.[49]

The powers and functions of a Wazir were great and, therefore, upon his ability and wisdom depended the welfare of the people and the stability of the kingdom.[50] He was the head of civil administration and a constant advisor of the ruler, enjoying his utmost confidence. He could be called upon to lead campaign and, sometimes, his ascendancy in the state was due to his military success.[51] The wizarat was of a variable character. Often weak kings were found playing second fiddle in the hands of their powerful wazirs. A Wazir sufficiently strong could overshot his jurisdiction and exercise the powers of issuing appointment and dismissal orders, conferring jagirs upon the nobles and dispensing administration of justice. This happened under the weak successors of Shahmiri dynasty who were overpowered by their powerful Chak wazirs, Kaji Chak, Daulat Chak and Gazi Chak. They wielded all the civil and military powers assuming the status of the king maker and finally registering their own names as kings of Kashmir.[52] But under the Chak regime no Wazir could dare to cross the border of their limit, obviously, because of the Chak rulers competency for kingship. No doubt, Yusuf Shah's Wazir Muhammad Bat,[53] and Yaqub Shah's Wazir Ali Dar, tried to create law and order problem but they were immediately suppressed and imprisoned.[54] Details are not available about the salary of a Wazir but it is obvious that in lieu of their services they were granted big jagirs which were transferable.

Diwan-i-Kul

In order to discourage the Wazir from turning despotic, a new office of Diwan-i-kul was establishd by Fath Shah, one of the successors of Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70).[55] He was next to Wazir and was entrusted with the financial management previously under the charge of Wazir. We find no reference to the existence of this office under the Chaks. It seems that the new office ceased to have any significance after the death of Fath Shah and Wazir remained as powerful as before transacting financial business as well.

Ecclesiastical Department

In Kashmir Sikandar (1389-1413) was the first Sultan to enforce the Shariat with great strictness and as a staunch protagonist of Islamic law and theology, he established the high office of Shaikh-ul-Islam[56] to see that Islamic law was properly enforced.[57] Mulla Ahmed, who arrived Kashmir in the company of Bulbul Shah, from Turkistan, was the first person to hold this office.[58] In this way Kashmir was ahead of many Islamic countries including, in setting up this exalted department. The incumbent of this high office was expected to be a person distinguished alike for Islamic learning and for piety, whom the Sultan consulted on all important issues relating to religious and judicial affairs. Like the Pope of Rome he was to perform the coronation ceremony. But his important duty was to see that law is enforced according to Shariat. The political function of Shaikh-ul-Islam was to issue fatawa (decrees) which carried great weight. Besides these assignments, Shaikh-ul-Islam was also incharge of the Waqfs (the large endowments) for charitable and educational purposes.[59]

But as under the Sultans of Delhi, the Shaikh-ul-Islam was a subordinate office with restricted powers in Kashmir, under the Chaks a great transformation took place in this high office, when all the powers and functions of Shaikh-ul-Islam were controlled by the Qazi of Srinagar, also called Qazi-ul-Qazzat Shaikh-ul-Islam, as a high office either ceased to exist or was left with supernumerary portfolio.[60]

Administration of Justice

Before the establishment of the Muslim rule in Kashmir, the department of justice was placed under a functionary of high status called Dharmadhikara.[61] His function was, however, taken over by Shaikh-ul-Islam under Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413 A.D.), and as already discussed, during the Chak period all the judicial powers centred round the Qazi-ul-Qazzat and the Shaikh-ul-Islam ceased to have any significance.[62] He not only administered the courts of justice, but also tried cases.[63] As a legal adviser of the king and a member of the king's council, the Qazi participated in the highest judicial body of the kingdom. Assisted by a body of Mufti's whose duty was to interpret the law as contained in the Shariat, the Qazi issue the decrees in legal matters. Any decree not issued in accordance with tenets of Islamic law was censured and due punishment given. Qazi Musa's decree was accepted by other Qazis and Muftis only when it conformed to the Hanafi-ite law.[64] The Qazi was incharge of endowments (waqfs) created for charitable and educational purposes. Their income was utilised in public welfare. The prominent Qazis and muftis of the Chak period were Qazi Musa, the Qazi-ul-Qazzat, and Qazi Habib of Hanafi-ite school, Qazi Abdul Ghafur and Qazi Zain of Shafi-ite school. King Yaqub Shah appointed Mulla Ganai. of Shi-ite faith, the Qazi-ul-Qazzat after executing Qazi Musa.[65] Mir Adil exercised semimagisterial functions, was also under the Qazi, and the parties to a dispute before going to him, approached the Mir Adil who drew up the cases and if it was not a complicated one, and the parties agreed, he himself settled the dispute.[66] Justice was also administered by the king and his Wazir. The king acted both as a court of first instance and a court of appeal, trying civil as well as criminal cases. Justice was dispensed with by the king sitting in the Diwan-i-Khana in the open Darbar.[67] King Husain Shah had fixed Monday for hearing cases when he attended Diwan-i-Khana along with Qazi, Mufti, and Mir Adil.[68] Suka speaks of king Ali Chak, assisted by his council, making enquiries and giving judgement which were always effectively binding.[69]

All were equal before the law and punishments were severe even for a minor crime. Ghazi Shah executed his own son Haidar when he was found guilty murdering his own uncle.[70] He imposed heavy fines for small crimes. Amputation of body organs and gouging out the eyes by a needle were common punishments during his time.[71] Prisoners were mostly beheaded and a bigger minaret of their heads was constructed at the capital but some prisoners were set free on ransom.[72] In the times of Ali Shah and Yusuf Shah, many of these severe punishments were abolished under the influence of their enlightened wazir, Sayyid Mubarak.[73] We have no reference to the existence of jails, but criminals were commonly kept in chains. In towns and villages, the cases were decided by Muftis and the guilty were punished by the Kotwal.[74]

The Royal Stable

The department for maintenance of cavalry or the Royal Stable was of considerable importance and rival claimants to the throne always tried to seize the horses first. This is because the cavalry was the most important branch of the army. Taking possession of the horses first was considered the easiest way to victory. During the war of succession among Zain-ul-Abidin's sons (1470), Haji Khan in making his bid for the throne on the eve of his father's death, first seized the Royal Stable. As a result, the second son Adham Khan despaired of success fled for Kashmir.[75]

Among the Chaks, Ghazi Chak made his bid to success by seizing the Royal Stable and thwarted the attempts of Daulat Chak, another claimant to the thr one.[76] During the period of Hindu rulers, this office was called Mahasvasala (office of the chief-master of Horse),[77] but it is not mentioned anywhere as to what name the office was having under the Muslim Kings of Kashmir.[78]

Mir Bakhshi

The head of the military organization was called Mir Bakhshi. The earliest reference to this office pertains to the

reign of Sultan Ali Shah (1344-55 A.D.).[79] During the Chak period, Mir Bakhshi gained more powers. He was to maintain a register with details about the soldiers, disburse their salaries, and recruit new soldiers.[80] This was because under Emperor Akbar, the Mir Bakhshi possessed considerable powers and influence[81] and the Chaks, as their contemporaries in Kashmir, also gave much importance to this officer, and particularly in the time of King Yusuf Shah and Yaqub Shah his prestige enhance considerably.[82]

Amir-i-Dar

Amir-i-Dar or Lord Chamberlain, commanded a great prestige and position under medieval Kashmir. Kalhan calls him Mahapratiharapida[83] and Jonaraja as Dvarapala.[84] No person could enter the palace or royal presence without being introduced by him. He also acted master of ceremonies and therefore, all the important celebrations at the court were subject to his arrangements.[85] From the nature of the functions, the appointment to this important office is conspicuous. Only a noble of high trust and with superior military qualities were selected for this responsible job. Moreover, as constantly in the company of the king, his importance among the people was obvious.

We have a strong evidence to state about the existence of Amir-i-Dar in the time of the Chaks. Masud Nayak, the Amir-i-Dar in the time of Husain Chak played a gallant role by killing the conspirators who tried to set the royal palace on fire in the absence of the king. The king Husain Shah decorated his Amir-i-Dar with the titles of Mubariz Khan and Khan-i-Zaman.[86]

Nayaks

The Nayaks were the guardian of the passes leading into Kashmir. Since the sole fate of the valley depended upon their loyalty, the men appointed to these important posts were those enjoying great confidence of the kings. During the period of Hindu rulers, the control of the passes was placed under a single officer, called Dvarapati or 'the Lord of the Gate'.[87] Under

the Muslim rulers, the number of officers holding charge of the passes was increased. But with the rise of the Chaks the department gained greater importance because of the Mughal invasions.

The Nayaks were directly under the control of the king and their appointment was made by the king himself. Sometimes their appointment was hereditary and, in return for their services, they were assigned jagirs.[88] They had at their disposal a military force which was stationed at fortified outposts known under Hindu rule as 'drangadhifa'. No outsider was allowed to enter the valley without a Khatt-i-Rah (permit).[89] By what name they were known under Muslims is not known. Under the Chaks, the Nayaks also performed the duty of collecting the tax of rahadari (passengers tax).[90] Whenever the passes were well defended and placed in the hands of trustworthy officers, Kashmir enjoyed immunity from foreign invasions. But when their defence was neglected, or the Nayaks turned traitors, the valley was easily invaded.

During the Mughal invasion, the two Nayaks, Masud and Bahram, played a treacherous role and joined the Mughal general Qasim Khan.[91] Their disloyalty totally upset the king Yaqub at Srinagar and he escaped to Kishtwar leaving the kingdom at the mercy of the invaders.[92]

Jahangir in this Memoirs speaks of the importance of Nayaks that, "there are two Zamindars on the roads in whose charge are the arrangements for the traffic on it, and they are in reality the keys of the country of Kashmir. They call one Mehdi Nayak and other Husain Nayak. The charge of road from Hirapur to Baramulla is in their hands."[93]

The designation of the Nayak continued to be associated with the names of people after the fall of the Sultanate, and even today Nayak is a caste name of many Kashmiris.

Espionage System

In order to keep themselves constantly informed of all the activities of their subjects and external enemies the Chak kings, like their predecessors had an organised espionage department. The government spies moved about in every part of the kingdom

and reported to the king the movement of the enemies. Before the Chaks, even prostitutes were employed in spying and securing information.[94] But we have no such indication during the time of the Chaks. The activities of the Nayaks in the passes and enemies' movement beyond were also reported to the king by the spies.[95]

Treasurer

The treasurer (khazanchi) was an official of high status exercising control over the Royal Treasury.[96] In ancient times, the Khazanchi was known by the name of Ganjavara[97] after the Persian Ganjwar and he continued to be called by the same designation under the early Shahmirs, but later on he was called Khazanchi. The Persian chronicler Haidar Malik writes that king Husain Shah Chak ordered the Khazanchi on every Friday of the week to take out some money from the Royal Treasury for the poor.[98] We have no information about the Khazanchi playing an active role in politics. But Yusuf Shah kept his royal Treasury deposited in the house of his treasurer, Nauroz Chak, when he was banished.[99]

Court of Registration

This department was working efficiently during Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70) and its chief function was to prevent fraud in the sale of land by registering every sale deed. Under the Chaks, the working of the department was full of defects and many cases of conflict are reported between the people over the assignment, sale, or purchase of land.[100] This can be attributed to the negligence of the officer incharge including the king.

The City Prefect

The City-Prefect was known as Nagaradhipa in the Hindu times,[101] Jonaraja, under Zain-ul-Abidin, refers to him as Nagaradhikrta.[102] His duty was to collect fines levied on the people by the government and look after their morals. He also supervised weights and measures, commercial activities and

other matters relating to the town. He seems to have combined the functions of a magistrate with those of a police officer. But these duties were performed by the Kotwal and the Muhtasib under the Chaks. The Kotwal was responsible for maintaining law and order in the city. He was also to protect the people from thieves and robbers. The Muhtasib supervised the markets, inspected weights and measures, and looked after the morals of the people. King Yusuf Shah, writes Baba Daud Khaki, appointed a Kotwal and a Muhtasib in every town to carry out the work of administration, and maintain law and order in the kingdom.[103] The Muhtasib was also authorised to decide the minor cases and also give punishments for ordinary misdemeanours after a summary trial. Serious cases, however, were referred to the Qazi and the Mufti. The Mufti was in fact an executive authority.[104]

Royal Mint

For minting copper, silver and gold coins, a minting house had been established in Kashmir. The numismatic evidence of the Chak period testifies to the existence of the Royal Mint directly under the personal supervision of the King.[105]

Office of the Vakil

This designation was first used in the time of the Chaks. The Vakil was to act like a modern envoy or ambassador in other states. Ghazi Shah sent Nusrat Chak to the court of Emperor Akbar. Similarly Ali Shah sent Muhammad Qasim in reciprocation to Akbar's envoys Qazi Sadr-ud-Din and Mulla Ali.[106] Yusuf Shah sent his son Haidar Chak and Yaqub Sarfi to the court of Emperor Akbar as his Vakils.[107] Emperor Akbar sent his envoys to the court of Kashmir kings from time to time to discuss important official matters.[108] The Vakil assumed much importance during the Chak period.

Provincial and Local Government

The valley of Kashmir was bifurcated, as from early times,

into two traditional provinces referred to in the Sanskrit chronicles as Kramarajya and Madavarajya,[109] and in the Persian works as Kamraj and Maraj.[110]

Maraj comprised the districts on both sides of the Upper part of the river Jehlum and its headquarters Srinagar remained the capital of the kingdom under the Muslim rulers. The city of modern Sopore was the headquarters of Kamraj which was the stronghold of the Chaks before their rise to power.[111] The provincial government was a replica of the central government. A Hakim was the head of the province and was subservient to the king. He exercised an over-all supervision to maintain law and order, collect revenues and dispense justice. He was also the head of civil and military administration of the province. The appointment of Hakim was made by the king himself, and he was always his trusted man. But the kings were not always right in their choice, and consequently, revolts were common.[112]

Qazi was the judicial head in a province and was appointed by the king. He was assisted by Muftis and Mullas in every town and pargana.[113] Kotwal and Muhtasib were other officials who looked after the safety and morals of the inhabitants. All the activities of the provincial head were secretly reported to the king by his spies. During the time of king Yaqub Shah, the complete administration of Kamraj was handed over to a leading noble Shams Chak.[114]

Parganas

As elsewhere in the Mughal India—the provinces were divided for administrative purposes into small parganas[115] each under a Shiqdar who was to look after the administration. The administration of justice was under the supervision of Muhtasib who was also to control village affairs in conformity with Islamic teachings.[116] The number of parganas in Kashmir remained changing throughout the Muslim rule according to administrative convenience.

In the time of Sultan Muhammad Shah (1484-1537), the number of parganas was twenty-seven.[117] Under Mirza Haidar Dughlat (1540-51), the number increased to thirty.[118] It further

rose to forty-one in the time of the Chaks as is clear from the account of Abul Fazl, that under Emperor Akbar, the return of Asaf Khan showed thirty-eight parganas, while the earlier list of Qazi Ali contained forty-one.[119] The latter's version seems to be a correct one for the Chak regime.[120]

Villages

Each pargana comprised a number of villages. A village was regarded as the smallest administrative unit and its administration was based on the principle of collective responsibility. The people of the village were held responsible for any theft or robbery in their locality.[121] The village administration was conducted by a Patwari known as Gramakayastha under the Hindu rulers.[122] As in other parts of India, the Patwari has never disappeared from the agrarian scene in Kashmir. He was to perform the work of registering the revenue entries in the village register. For the maintenance of law and order, their was a police officer known as Sarhang Zada (Gramdirara under Hindu rulers) who had a group of villages under his control.[123] And as already discussed Muhtasib was to maintain the good morale and prevent crime in the villages. Whether the Panchayats existed in the villages is not mentioned in the chronicles.

Outer Hill Province

The hill states of Rajauri, Poonch and Lohara (modern Lorin) in the south and south-west were joined together into an outer hill province.[124] This part of the kingdom had political relations with Kashmir whose sovereignty it acknowledged when the king of Kashmir was strong. The Rajas of these territories frequently assumed independence under the weak rulers of Shahmir dynasty but they were subdued by the first Chak ruler, Ghazi Shah.[125] Thereafter we have no information about these chiefs exhibiting refractory attitude.

The nature of the tribute or assistance coming from these territories is not clearly defined in the chronicles.

But forming the bridge between the Hindustan and Kashmir, these chieftains were of considerably strategical

importance for the Kashmir kings. The Mughal Governor Qasim Khan, while on his march to annex Kashmir secured the loyalty of Sarmast Khan, the Rajauri chief and made him the commander of one of his contingent.[126]

The Province of Naushehra

To the south of Rajauri lay the hill state of Naushehra, which was converted into a separate province and placed under the charge of a trusted and capable military commander Miran Sayyid Nasir in the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin.[127] The province continued to be placed under the king's viceroy throughout the Muslim rule. This post was an exclusive privilege of a prince of the royal blood. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin had appointed his own son Haji Khan the governor of the Province.[128] The same tradition continued under the Chaks. Husain Shah Chak appointed his own brother Shankar Chak the governor of Naushehra. The outer and frontier provinces, being separated from the valley by a difficult and rugged terrain, enjoyed a large measure of autonomy. Their continuation with the valley depended much on the loyalty of the Viceroy. King Husain Shah's brother Shankar rose in revolt to seize power from his father but was promptly suppressed.[129] Such attempts were not uncommon during the Chak period.

Vassal Chiefs

As elsewhere in India, the vassal chiefs in Kashmir also belonged to politically and economically dominant families like those of the Sayyids, Lons, Dars, Magres and Rainas. The Chak proved the most potential class among all these vassal chiefs and taking advantage of the slackness of Shahmiri rulers grabbed powers for their own dynasty in 1554.[130] Some of the vassal chiefs were hereditary jagirdars and they were required to pay the revenue to the state and render military service in the time of need. Rebellions during the whole of the medieval Kashmir were mainly because of these chiefs who were constantly found preventing the growth of a strong central government. Whenever

a king was found slack, they apportioned the large areas of the country's land[131] and seize the throne, as the Chaks did in 1554 A.D.[132]

Under the Chaks the vassal chiefs continued their malignant game of dividing the people into factions for their own interests, resulting in the annexation of Kashmir province by the Mughal emperor Akbar.

Tributary States

The tributary states covered Pakhli, Kishanganga Valley, Ladakh, Gakkar, Kishtwar and all the territory of the outer hills from the river Ravi in the east to the Jehlum in the west. The chiefs of these states looked upon the Kashmir rulers as their suzerain, paid him tribute, and usually gave out their daughters or sisters in marriage to the king or to the heir-apparents.[133]

Under the weak Shahmir rulers, all these tributary chiefs had asserted their independence and withheld the payment of tribute. But with the establishment of the Chak rule, these states were reannexed by Ghazi Shah and forced to send tribute. Ghazi Shah also married the daughter of the Raja Kamal Khan of Gakkar who was presented to him by the latter.[134] During Ali Shah's time, Raja Bahadur Singh of Kishtwar twice revolted against the king but he was suppressed. He presented his daughter and sister to the king and his son Yaqub respectively.[135] The tribute which the king received from the Raja of Kishtwar contained saffron and falcons.[136] Wool came from the Raja of Ladakh.[137] The king did not generally interfere in the internal administration of the tributary chiefs. However, interference was deemed necessary in the case of a rebellion when an army was sent to reduce him to obedience.[138]

The Military Organisation

Composition

As under the Shahmir rulers. the army of the Chaks also

consisted of the (a) Standing Army, (b) Provincial troops and (c) Feudal Levies.

(a) The standing army was under the direct control and employment of the king. Since the Chak rule was based on the hegemony of their own tribe, the kings did not recruit men from other groups in the beginning. But, with the passage of time, they threw open the recruitment of soldiers to the able members of other families also like those of the Sayyids, Rainas, Lons, and Dars.[139] The army was stationed in Srinagar for use and in times of war the king marched at its head to repel the enemy, or detach a part of it under a separate commander.

(b) There were provincial troops as well stationed in the provincial headquarters and at the strategic places on the frontiers. Then, these were garrisons in the frontier forts or watch stations (drangas) at the head of the passes,[140] placed under the commanders called Nayaks. This force assumed vital importance in times of external aggressions.[141] There were also garrisons in the forts built inside the valley at strategic places like Lar, Nagam, Chadura, Manar and Biru.

(c) Besides these army units, the nobles holding large jagirs also supplied military contingent in times of emergency called the feudal levies. Each contingent was under the command of its own chief. There are references to the tributary states of Kishtwar and Ladakh also furnishing troops to the kings of Kashmir.[142]

Division of Army

The main divisions of the Army were, Infantry, Cavalry, Archers, Elephants, and Flag Party.[143] The Artillery came to be used in the time of Ghazi Shah and he was the first Muslim king of Kashmir to have made an open use of canons against the Mughal invader Qara Bahadur.[144] In the times of Yusuf Shah and Yaqub Shah, muskets and canons were commonly used against the Mughal invaders.[145] Yaqub Shah made use of the infantry, cavalry, and artillery with canons in suppressing the rebellions which frequently occurred in his time.[146]

Among all these divisions, cavalry and infantry were most

important. The horses came from Iraq and Turkistan. Jahangir writes: Before the reign of my father (Akbar), the chief method by which the people of these parts rode was gunts (ponies). They had no large horse but used to bring Iraqi and Turki horses by way of rare gifts for their rulers.[147] Cavalry maintained in the royal stable was directly under the strict control of the king himself. Elephants were also used during war[148] time but their number was very small because it was difficult to import them into Kashmir through rugged and narrow passes.

War Weapons

Like the early Muslim rulers of Kashmir, the Chak rulers also made use of common weapons such as sword, bow and arrow, battle-axe, lance, mace, javeli, hand knife etc. The armour, shield and helmets were commonly used for defensive purposes in the war. Rolling down of heavy stones and throwing small ones over the enemy, in the steep passes leading to the valley, was also a common practice in war.

Besides these old weapons, the Chak rulers made use of gun and pieces of canon and muskets in the war.[149]

Suka also mentions the name of certain other weapons used by the Chak rulers, viz., Chubs, bearded dorts, and Upkas etc.

Methods of Warfare

The Chak tribe by nature was war-like. Of all the tribes in Kashmir, they were the best fighters. Their continuous engagement in warfare imparted a fine training in military leadership and it was mainly because of their fighting techniques that they made their way to the throne by sweeping aside other tribes from their way.[150]

During a campaign, the army was arranged in various wings, the left, the right, the centre, the vanguard and the rear guard, and a special party was also organised which held the charge of flags.[151] Elephants were arranged in the centre and sometimes they were brought intoxicated in the battle-field.[152]

Before the general melee took place, the duellists from both the parties came forward one by one to fight and many a time grappled with each other without arms.[153]

Beating of drums, uttering of different cries, and throwing of stones were common for raising the spirit of soldiers. Ghazi Shah, while fighting against Qara Bahadur, the Mughal general, writes Suka, "surrounded by a thousand of infantry, he commenced the battle by the laughter and the sounds of drums, by the flapping of elephants' ears, and the neighing of the horses, he terrified the enemy."[154] The king also distributed money and Khilats (royal robe) before the war in order to enthuse the soldiers.[155] After the battle was over, the heads of the enemy soldiers were cut off from their bodies and a minaret of them was built.[156]

The army might have borne some mark to distinguish themselves from the enemy and the wavering banners were carried in the battle-field.[157]

One of the most striking features which received considerable favour, specially under the last Chak ruler, was not to fight a pitched battle but to launch night attacks, take the enemy by fright and loot and plunder whatever might fall in hands.[158] This mas one of the most successful methods to create havoc and harassment among the enemy forces. Though, commonly applied against the invaders, this method was also used in maintaining internal peace and security and quelling rebellions.[159]

During the last phase of the Chak rule, it was also used against the Mughals. Yaqub Shah, the last Chak ruler, after his defeat at the hands of the Mughals, did not sit idle, but in concert with Shams Chak and other members of his faction, harassed the Mughal general Qasim Khan Mir Bahr so much by launching massive night attacks, that the general sent a petition to Emperor Akbar for his recall.[160]

Besides these techniques, pulling down of bridges, applying fire, cutting off the means of communication etc. were also practised.

Forts

The Kashmir valley, though naturally fortified by high

mountains and barricaded by steep passes,[161] still required forts at all the strategic places for the comforts of soldiers. They were used not so much for war purposes as for the protection of army against harsh uncertainties of weather.

According to Abul Fazl, "the forts were constructed of thick walls, not less than forty yards in thickness and the walls were erected upto ten yards of Akbar Shahi. Also beams, thirty yards long had been intertwined. The fort had only one strong iron gate".[162] Hanjik was an important fort under the Chaks. Haidar Malik mentions the construction of a fort at Blohar in a day in the time of Ghazi Shah, when Qara Bahadur invaded Kashmir.[163] It could at best be a small defensive structure rather than a fort. Similarly Yusuf Shah constructed a fort near the river Nain Sukh in the Pakhli pass.[164]

REFERENCES

1. Srivara, I, Stt. 105-124; Sexana, pp. 70-89.
2. Pramu, pp. 93-98.
3. *B.S.*, ff. 50a-51b.
4. H.M., f. 130 b; Hasan, pp. 223-24.
5. See p. 61, supra.
6. Qureshi. pp. 48-49 (vide Dr. Zutshi, p. 93).
7. See p. 121 supra.
8. See chapter 2.
9. H.M., f. 162a; *A N.*, III, p. 763.
10. H.M., f. 151b.
11. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 199, *B.S.*, f. 127b; Firishta, p. 517. Qazi Musa, a Sunni divine, was the Qazi-ul-Qazzat during the Chaks regime. It was only under Yaqub Shah Chak, that Mulla Ganai of Shi-ite faith was appointed Qazi-ul-Qazzat in the place of Qazi Musa, see H.M., f. 161 b; *A.N.*, III, p. 763.
12. Mohibbul Hasan, pp.195-97.
13. Rodgers (J.A.S.B. 1885), p. 94 sqq.
    See Appendix 'C' for the titles of the Chaks.
14. Rodgers (J.A.S.B 1885) has wrongly attributed the coin No. 18, Plate II, to Ghazi. It bears the title of Sultan-ul-Azam Muhammad Shah (p. 94).
15. Ibid.
16. *A.N.*, III, p. 762,

17. At first it was only the prerogative of the Caliph to have his name recited in the khutba or sermon before Friday prayer and any attempt to introduce other name was regarded by the jurists a bid (innovation). But from the end of third century Hijra, it became a common practice of the local rulers to have their name inserted side by side with the name of caliph. After the collapse of the caliphate at Baghdad, however, although the Muslim rulers in general strictly enforced the insertion of their own name in the khutba, yet they gave up the custom of putting in the name of puppet Abbasid caliph of Cairo. We do not have any reference relating to the establishment of such a relation with the ruler of Kashmir with Caliphs of Cairo. For details see, Siddiqi, *Caliphate and Kingship in Medieval Persia* (pp. 34, 39).
18. *B.S.*, f.148a; H.M., f. 130b.
19. *B.S.*, f. 12b; H.M., 130b.
20. *B.S.*, f. 148a; H.M., Ibid.
21. *Tabaqat*., III, p 759; *B.S.*, f. 172b.
    The first Muslim ruler to have started the practice of giving award of Khilats was Harun-Rashid (Mohibbul Hasan, p. 197, n. 6).
22. *B.S.*, f. 172b.
23. The highest among the nobles bore the title of Khan, which signified the uppermost grade of nobility. All the Chak kings associated this title with their names. The other titles were conferred in order of the merit. Sipah Salar and Sarkhul was sometimes indiscriminately used to denote a military officer irrespective of his rank and position.
24. H.M., f. 161a; *B.S.*, f. 183a.
25. H.M., f. 157a.
26. H.M., ff. 136a-b.
27. H.M., f. 152b.
28. Jonaraja, St. 948; Dr. Zutshi, p. 98.
29. Srivara, 1. i,S.H, 128, 151, SH, 202, 206. Since the office was also established by the Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, it can be presumed that Chaks also continued this exalted office. This was first created by Lalitaditya and was called Maha-Pratiharapida (*Rajatarangini*, Kalhana, I, IV, 142-43).
30. *B.S.*, f. 181a.
31. Ibid., *A.N.*, III, p. 763.
32. *B.S.*, f.127a; *Tabaqat*., III, p. 743; Firishta, p. 516.
33. H.M., f. 136a-b; *A.A.*, p. 654; Azam, pp. 114-15.
34. *Gusliyya Yusuf Shah*, pp. 4-5.
35. Jonaraja, St. 958.
36. Srivara, 1, VI, St. 52.
37. Suka, p. 394.
38. Suka, 400, *B.S.*, f. 174b.
39. See chapter 4.

40. Suka, p. 394.
41. See chapter 3, Content 'Problem of Succession'.
42. *B.S.*, f. 133b.
43. The office of the wizarat came into existence in the Islamic state, for the first time under the Abbasids. See for details, *The Origin of the Vizarat and its true character* by S.D. Goitein of Palestine, *Islamic Culture.*
44. Stein (R.T.), I. VI, 199n; S.C. Ray, pp. 129-30.
45. *Tabaqat.*, III, pp. 634, 639, 645. According to Sufi, "In Kashmir the Wazir was designated as Madar-ul-Mahamm, under the Sultans as has been the case in the Hyderabad State (II, p. 602).
46. Abdal Bat, a noble, revolted against King Yusuf Shah because he was not made the Wazir. See chapter 4.
47. *B.S.*, f. 123a.
48. H.M., f. 136a, *B.S.*, f. 127b.
49. *B.S.*, f. 133b. The annual revenue of the state as a whole under the Chaks was twenty-two lakh kharwars (*A.N.*, III, pp. 830-31).
50. *B.S.*, ff. 143a, f. 163a, f. 173b.
51. *B.S.*, 178-b, f. 182-a.
52. H.M., ff. 138a-b. For detailed activities of the Chak wazirs see chapter 1.
53. *B.S.*, f. 17a-b; H.M., f. 172a; *A.N.*, III, p. 763.
54. *B.S.*, f. 182a.
55. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 757.
56. A 20th century Persian writer wrongly ascribes the creation of this office to Sultan Shahmir, the founder of Muslim rule in Kashmir in 1339. See, Muin-ud-Din Miskin (Tarikh-i-Kabir, p. 289). The statement is not supported by any reliable authority except Sufi, II, p. 604. For the literal meaning of Shaikh-ul-Islam, see Encyclopaedia of Islam, II, 1934, pp. 275-78.
57. Encl. of Islam, Ibid.
58. Bulbul Shah was a renowned Sufi Rinehana, the Bhuta Raja of Kashmir is stated to have embraced Islam at the hands of this Sufi, and he became the first Muslim king of Kashmir with the name Sadr-ud-Din.
59. *B.S.*, f. 34b; H.M., f. 119b.
60. W.K. (MS.), ff. 52a, 60a.
61. *R.T.* (Kalhana), I. IV, 588.
62. *B.S.*, f. 31b.
63. Azam (W.K.), ff. 52a, 60a.
64. *Gusliyya-Yusuf Shahi*, p. 4.
65. H.M., f. 161b.
66. See Appendix D, 'Religious Controversy'.
67. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 200.
68. H.M., f. 136a-b.
69. Suka, p. 394.

70. H.M., f. 135a; Firishta, p. 511; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 740. Suka, besides narrating various stories of punishments in the time of Ghazi Shah, writes that the king robbed even neighbourers of those who had committed a fault and killed one hundred daily. He imposed heavy fines for slight offences and robbed villages for the fault of one, Suka (p. 383).
71. H.M., f. 136a; Firishta, p. 511.
72. *B.S.*, f. 166a-b; Suka, p. 388.
73. *B.S.*, ff. 137a, 16a-b, H.M. f. 139a-b.
74. *Gusliyya-Yusuf Shah*, pp. 4-5.
75. Srivara, J. VII, Stt. 198-200, 204; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 671; Dr. Zutshi, p. 167. Srivara speaks of the importance of this department that Adam Khan's failure to kill the guard and capture the Royal Stable deprived him of his sure chance of seizing the kingdom (J. VII, Stt. 198-200, 204).
76. H.M., f. 128a (Srinagar MS), 152b.
77. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 201.
78. Under the Delhi Sultans, the officer incharge of the Royal Stable was called 'Akurbek' or Amir-i-Akhur, see Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultans of Delhi*, p. 71.
79. Munich MS; f. 66a (Mohibbul Hasan, p. 202).
80. H.M., MS; (1.0) f. 189b.
81. Ibn-Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, p. 215.
82. H.M., MS (II. 0) f. 189b.
83. Srivara, p. 208.
84. Stein, Bk. IV, Nos. 142-43.
85. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 202.
86. *B.S.*, f. 127a; Firisha, p. 516.
87. Stein, B.K., V. No. 214; S.C. Ray, p. 133.
88. *B.S.*, f. 183a; *A.N.*, III, p. 764; Suka, p. 406.
89. Jonaraja, p. 66; Srivara, p. 271.
90. See for details *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, pp. 132-60.
91. *B.S.*, f. 183a; *A.N.*, III, p. 764, Suka, p. 406.
92. *B.S.*, f. 183a; *A.N.*, III, p. 764.
93. For details, see *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, pp. 132-60.
94. Nasib, ff. 205b sqq (Mohibbul Hssan, p. 203).
95. Suka, p. 350.
96. H.M., f. 136a-b.
97. Stein (*R.T.*), I., V. 177a. Under Lalitaditya, the Treasurer was called Mahabhandagara (*R.T.*, IV, 143).
98. H.M., f. 136a-b.
99. *B.S.*, f. 148a.
100. *B.S.*, f. 178b.
101. Jonaraja, St. 887.
102. Ibid.
103. *Gusliyya Yusuf Shah*, pp. 4-5.
104. Ibid., as also Qureshi, *Administration of Sultanate of Delhi*, pp. 164-67.

105. Rodgers (J.A.S.B. 1885), p. 94.
106. *Tabaqat.*, III, 736; Azam, p. 157.
107. H.M., f. 153a, *A.N.*, III, p. 758.
108. Akbar sent his envoys to the court of King Husain Shah (Badauni, II, p. 128); Ali Shah (*A.N.*, III, p. 356; Badauni, II, 276) and Yusuf Shah (*A.A.*, 534; *B.S.*, ff. 173a-b.).
109. Stein, II, p. 436.
110. *Tuzuk*, II, p. 143; *B.S.*, p. 205.
111. Srivara, p. 102.
112. Mohibbul Hasan, pp. 206-7.
113. *Guslîyya Yusuf Shah*, pp. 4-5.
114. *A.N.*, III, p. 763.
115. Parganas were called Visayas under the Hindu rulers (Stein, II, p. 437).
116. Firishta, (Persian MS), p. 657.
117. Srivara (B. ed.) B.K. IV, No. 570. According to Lokaprakash the valley was divided into twenty-seven Visayas (parganas) but to which period he refers is not known.
118. Nasib., f. 513b (Mohibbul Hasan, p. 207).
119. *A.A.*, II, p, 367. Jahangir mentions thirty-two parganas (*Tuzuk*, II, p. 143). The names of some of the parganas found scattered in Persian texts in the time of Chaks are :
    1. Bankil
    2. Zainkot
    3. Baruvel
    4. Zainpur
    5. Barbal
    6. Matan
    7. Nagam
    8. Vular
    9. Vihi
    10. Deanor
    11. Karala
    12. Dachanpur
    13. Vech
    14. Hamal
    15. Gus
    16. Khuyaahom
    17. Biru
    18. Jaingiri
    19. Loab
    20. Evanka
    21. Advani
    22. Khorurpur
    23. Barang
    24. Kattal
    25. Vaksum Kutum

26. Eirwal
27. Vankil
28. Pakhli
29. Barnal
30. Gani
31. Khaka
32. Bhimber
33. Khawa
34. Bara
35. Lar.

All these have been identified at different places in this text.

120. Baba Daud, pp. 4-5.
121. Suka, p. 389.
122. Stein, B.K.V., No. 175; Mohibbul Hasan, p. 208.
123. Baba Daud, pp. 4-5.
124. Srivara, pp. 1, 5 to 124.
125. H.M., f. 130b.
126. J.P.H. Society, IX, pp. 148-49.
127. *B.S.*, p. 60.
128. H.M., ff. 137a-138b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 741; Firishta, p. 515.
129. H.M., f. 138b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 741.
130. See chapter 1 for details.
131. Srivara, p. 303.
132. See chapter 1.
133. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 739; Hashmat-ullah, pp. 151-52; Hasan, p. 245.
134. H.M., f. 130b. The Chaks themselves were tributary of the Emperor, Akbar. They use to send shawls, musks, saffron and falcons to the Emperor in form of tribute.
135. See chapter 2, content, 'Conquest of Kishtwar'.
134. Ibid., *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 738, Firishta, p. 513.
137. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 739.
138. See chapter 2, content, 'Conquest of Kishtwar'.
139. See pp. 161-62 supra.
140. Stein, Bk. VIII, No. 2010 (Mohibbul Hasan, p. 210).
141. *B.S.*, f. 183a; *A.N.*, III, p. 764.
142. H.M., f. 157b; *B.S.*, f. 180b.
143. H.M., f. 157a.
144. Suka (BO. ed.) No. 460.
145. *A.A.* (Blochmann), p. 535.
146. H.M., f. 104a.
147. *Tuzuk*, II, p. 148.
148. Suka, p. 386.
149. Suka, p. 414.
150. For details, see chapter 1.
151. H.M., f. 157a.
152. Ibid., f. 133b

153. *B.S.*, f. 184b.
154. Suka, p. 386.
155. H.M., f. 135a; Hasan, p. 237.
156. H.M., f. 134a.
157. H.M., ff. 157a-b.
158. Suka, p. 410.
159. Hasan, p. 259.
160. *B.S.*, f. 190b; H.M., f. 167b; Suka, p. 410.
161. Abul Fazl writes about the strategic position of Kashmir that, "On all four sides, mountains with their heads to heaven act as sentinels. Though there are six or seven roads, yet a lagre army cannot march rapidly by them and in every one of them there are places where if some old man rolls down the stones the bravest of men could not pass" (*A.N.*, III, p. 766).
162. *A.N.*, III, p. 766.
163. H.M., f. 134b.
164. *A.N.*, III, p. 725.

7

Social and Economic Condition

Society

With the advent of Islam in Kashmir in early 14th century, a process of gradual transformation in the social and religious life of the people began. The old ideas, traditions and beliefs, which had for centuries dominated the actions and aspirations of the people, were profoundly affected with new developments. The synthesis of the old and new ideas, resulted in the emergence of an Indo-Islamic society with new culture-groups.

Casts Structure

As elsewhere in India, the conception of the four castes as Brahmin, Ksatriya, Vaisya and Sudra in ancient Kashmir were not altogether unknown but under some fanatic Sultans of Kashmir, almost all sections of castes, excluding few Brahmin families, gave up their castes and willingly or unwillingly embraced Islam.[1] On the basis of a reference to a Sudra women's by Srivara in the time of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70), we cannot establish the fact of four traditional castes of Hindus during medieval Kashmir, as has categorically stated by a modern scholar.[2] But there is a sufficient evidence to the existence of various low castes in Kashmir during the medieval period. They were like Dombas, Kiratas, Chandalas and

Nisadas. Curiously enough, we don't have sufficient evidence to mention the existence of various intermediary castes as were found in the other parts of India.

1. *Barhmins*

In ancient Kashmir the Hindu society as elsewhere in India, was organised on caste basis.[3] Nevertheless, the Brahmins, as a community, occupied a position of privilege and respect. But the period of their eclipse came with the rise of Muslims to power. Under a number of Shahmiri Sultans, the Hindu population of Kashmir was seething with discontent owing to the massive drive of proselytization and Brahmins were particularly the target. No doubt the benefit of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin's benevolent rule percolated to the people of all classes irrespective of caste, or social status and learned Brahmins were decorated with honour in the court. But after his death we don't hear of Brahmins of Kashmir occupying a privileged status in the Muslim polity. Some of the Chak rulers were, however, liberal to recognize the existence of Zimmis and under their rule the Brahmins lived in dignity and comfort. They also performed their religious functions freely and happily.[4] Suka speaks of king Husain Shah's participation in the Hindu festivals and his liberal distribution of robes of honour and gifts.[5] Yusuf Chak, as a gesture of goodwill and sympathy for the Brahmins, exempted them from paying the Jaziya.[6] He gave complete religious freedom to the Hindus in his kingdom.[7] But they fell on their evil days again during the short rule of King Yaqub Chak when Jaziya was re-imposed, their religious customs were banned, and they were forced to embrace Islam or an exiled life.[8] Their position continued to be so till the Mughal occupation of Kashmir.

1. *Rajputs*

We have no evidence in the chronicles about the existence of the Rajput community in the time of the Chaks. Both, Jonaraja and Srivara refer to their military services which they

rendered to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin.[9] Possibly, either they lost their military importance or rendered it as unidentified Muslim converts.

3. *Low Castes*

Among the low caste people mentioned as existing before and during the Chak period were the Dombas, Chandalas, Kiratas and Nisadas. The Dombas have been frequently mentioned by Kalhana as a caste of menials. Sometimes they are associated by Kalhana with the Chandalas and Svapakas (dog eaters). They were invariably despised as a low caste in Kashmir and were treated with much contempt.[10] Their social disabilities naturally forced them to earn their livelihood by committing theft and sometimes by singing and dancing.[11] Ghazi Chak had employed them against his enemy, the Mughals, when the later invaded Kashmir under Qara Bahadur.[12]

Like Dombas, the Chandalas and Kiratas were also low caste men, who had taken to stealing and lived in forests. Their position in ancient Kashmir is mentioned by Kalhana, a fierce and cruel fighters, who were appointed as royal guards and watchmen.[13] According to Alberuni, the Chandalas of Northern India, earned, their livelihood by killing the persons sentenced to death by the judicial authority.[14] This may have been the case with Kashmiri Chandalas who were universally hated. The Kiratas are frequently mentioned by Srivara, as being associated with the performance of the funeral rites of Hindus. They were punished by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin for exacting money from people for the cremation of dead.[15] Their names do not figure in the chronicles of the Chak period but, it is unlikely that they had disappeared from the social scene. So is the case of Nisadas, the aboriginal tribe of Kashmir, with a very low status in ancient society do not appear to have existing during the Chaks time.

4. *Shamshisi*

As worshippers of the Sun, have been mentioned by Abul

Fazl as well as Mirza Haidar Dughlat, as a class of Hindu community in the time of the Chaks.[16] They were small in number without any political influence. They believed that the phenomenon of luminosity of the sun was due to the purity of their creed and their being was derived from the sun's luminosity. They also believed that as long as the sun was visible their actions were visible to it and nothing but uprightness was lawful, but when night fell it did not see them or know them. Since the sun was not aware of what passed to the night people could not be called to account for what they did in the night. In their beliefs and ideas, the Shamshisi were very orthodox.[17]

Social Classes

The people of medieval Kashmir were grouped into different classes mainly based upon racial, religious, social and economic factors. They were both of indigenous and of foreign origin, ranging from landed aristocratic classes down to the peasantry.

The Nobility

After the king and his royal family, the nobility consisting of all the highest administrative officials was at the top of social pyramid in medieval Kashmir. They were the most privileged class and constituted the upper class of the Kashmiri society. The nobility under the Chaks was not a homogeneous body but were drawn from various social groups, viz., Sayyids, Dars, Maliks, Lons, Rainas, Bats, Kokas, Dunis and Najis.[18] The only prominent group debarred from holding powers was of the 'Magres' who had been the most potential rivals of the Chaks during their struggle for power in Kashmir.[19] It is very difficult to give the exact number of nobles of various ranks under the Chaks. In point of composition they were not homogeneous but heterogenous body, being composed of all sorts of local and foreigners, whose character and number varied with every ruling king.

Of these groups, the 'Sayyids' had come to Kashmir from Central Asia and Persia much before the establishment of the Chak rule. With the passage of time, they increasingly received the royal patronage and finally settled down in Kashmir.[20] They came to occupy a unique position in the society and politics of Kashmir. Sayyid Mubarak, an influential noble of this group, even succeed in grabbing political power and ruled over Kashmir for a few months.[21]

The family of 'Dars' originally constituted the traditional landed aristocracy. The term 'Dar' is derived from the word Damara, denoting a territorial lord. The Damaras played an important political role during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[22] Under the Muslim rulers, they also continued to play a dominant role under the caste name of Dar (Damaras).

'Malik' was a title of honour and distinction granted for loyalty and soldierly qualities. It was imported into Kashmir polity from the Delhi Sultanate.[23] In Kashmir, the title 'Malik' came into use like the term 'Shah', 'Sultan', Sillah', and Khan. The distinguished members of the four political group—'Magres', 'Dars', 'Rainas', and 'Chaks' received the title of Malik from the reigning Sultan of the Shahmiri dynasty.[24] In course of time, the title became hereditary and was adopted even as a surname. The Chak rulers continued its association with their name and the title which they assumed at the time of accession.

'Lons', originally known as 'Lavanyas,'[25] were a turbulent agriculturalist class in ancient Kashmir. They had been a constant source of menace to the king and people. Their growing strength was finally crushed by Rinchana[26] and, with the passage of time, they got merged with the peasantry of the country retaining 'Lon' as their original sub-caste. Under Shahmir, they regained their political and economic strength.

'Rainas' were originally a group of Brahmins having good political and social status.[27] Under the Muslim rulers, a large section of them were converted to Islam but they continued to be known as 'Raina' by their caste. They also received the title of Malik from the Muslim rulers which they associated with their name.[28]

'Bats' were also the descendants of Brahmins. They assumed considerable political importance under the Muslim rulers. Like the Rainas, they also continued to be known by their caste name even after their conversion to Islam.[29]

'Kokas', of the Persian chroniclers is mentioned by Stein as 'Khakhas' and 'Khashas' by Kalhana.[30] The Kokas had extended their settlement in a wide semi-circle from the hill territory of Kishtwar in the south-east and Lohara and Rajauri to the south-west.[31] The Kokas played an increasing part in the politics of Kashmir during medieval Kashmir. Like the Chaks, they were marauders and turbulent. Stein writes, that they maintained their forefathers' reputation until recent times in Kashmir. The Chaks inducted them into the nobility. Ali Koka became the Wazir of Husain Shah Chak. Joined by his brother Duni Koka, the Koka brothers played an important role in defaming Husain Chak on the sectarian issues.[32] The Koka's were Sunni Muslims. They continued to be called by their tribal name 'Kokas' even after their conversion to Islam.

Not many details are available about 'Dunis' and 'Najis', except that under the Muslim rulers they participated in political activities and had a chance to share power with other nobles.[33]

'Magres', who were the most potential rival of the Chaks, played a very mischievous role against them. They did not originally belong to any particular tribe, unlike the Chaks.[34] 'Magre' was the corruption of a Sanskrit word Margesha,[35] meaning the 'guardian of the passes'. But in course of time, it became a caste-name for those officials who were engaged in guarding the passes.[36] Under the Muslim rulers, the official designation for the guardian of the passes was Nayak,[37] which later became a caste-name.

Foreign Nobility

We have references to some members of foreign nobility receiving royal patronage of the Chak kings. Baba Talib Isfhani[38] and Mohammad Salim Kashghari (from Kashghar) were living in Kashmir for the last thirty years (1556-86). Both

these nobles played a significant role in the times of Yusuf Shah Chak and Yaqub Shah Chak and fought against the Mughal invader Raja Bhagwan Das.[39]

King and the Nobility

The kings how much despotic may have been and however grandiose their pretensions, after all represented only a part—eventhough an essential part—of the ruling class i.e. Nobility. The success or failure of a king to a large extent depended at the co-operation of nobility.

To win the favour of nobles, the Chak kings besides developing matrimonial alliances with them entrusted all the important administrative posts to them.[40] The exalted post of Wazir was made to rotate within a number of families under the Chaks. King Ghazi Chak appointed Sayyid Mubarak his Wazir[41] and King Husain Shah successively appointed nobles from the families of Najis, Maliks and Kokas, his Wazir.[42] Ali Shah passed it to Sayyid Mubarak.[43] Under Yusuf Shah Chak and Yaqub Shah Chak, the Wizarat rotated among the Bats and Maliks.[44]

Such a quick succession of the Wazirs one after the other was prompted by certain reasons : First, the refractory and rebellious attitude of nobles after coming to power; secondly, keen rivalry among various families for political supremacy with an eye over the coveted post of the Wizarat, and thirdly, the kings' personal likes and dislikes.[45] The struggle for Wizarat among the nobles became so acute under the Chaks, that there were as many as eleven Wazirs coming and going in quick succession from various families within a short period of thirty-two years.

Nobility and Politics

As under the Sultans of Delhi or in Mughal India[46] the nobles in Kashmir had always been found playing the game of diplomacy on the chess-board of Kashmir politics. The Chak nobility also played a conspicuous role by consuming their energy in conspiracies and intrigues against each other and

against the king. Their mischievous activities proved ruinous to the kingdom. At times, the Chak nobles assumed so much of importance, that they became the king makers. King Yusuf Shah was treacherously forced into exile and, in his place, Sayyid Mubarak, a leading noble, was made the king. But he too was soon replaced by another noble king Lohar Shah Chak.[47]

One glaring weakness with the Chak nobility had been their policy of invoking the help of Emperor Akbar often against the rival faction in political disputes. The Emperor was kept informed of all the local developments. This policy had a far-reaching repercussions and ultimately led to the loss of independence of Kashmir.

Jagirdari System[48] and Nobility

Like the Mughal Emperors, the Chak kings in Kashmir enjoyed the privilege of assignment of jagirs to the nobles.

There are numerous references to the distribution of jagirs to people either in recognition of services,[49] or in lieu of salaries to officials or as a mark of honour.[50] King Husain Shah Chak conferred upon Masud Nayak, an important noble, the jagir of Bankil, for his faithful services.[51] He also gave out Naushehra to his own son, Shankar Chak, in jagir.[52] Yusuf Shah distributed important jagirs to his nobles when he occupied the throne, the second time.[53] A jagir was transferable in case of its holder being found seditious, and such kind of assignments and tranfers hardly made any difference in the legal status of land holders.[54] We have no reference in the local records about the term Naqdi or officers paid in cash in Kashmir, like many Mughal mansabdars.[55] But the assignment of mashrut jagirs (conditional) and inam, (being independent of rank) was made by Chak rulers in Kashmir like the Mughal Emperors.[56]

The jagirdari system, was at root an evil practice. The king had to consume more energy and time in watching the activities, of the jagirdars, resulting in a great setback to the economy and administrative efficiency. The jagirdars mostly rebelled against the king as soon as they found opportunity.[57] Shankar Chak created a great problem for his brother Husain

Shah when he declared himself independent in his jagir at Naushchra. He subdued the surrounding territories of his jagir and indulged in oppression of the peasantry. The king had to wage war against his brother in order to protect the peasantry of that place.[58] Such happenings were common during the Chak period, in the ranks of the nobility as was in early medieval Kashmir when the Brahmins, Thakurs, and Damaras were also associated with the privileged class of Kashmir.[59]

The Bureaucracy

Next to nobility in the official hierarchy were all the subordinate officials down to the lower clerical cardre.[60] The official term used for bureaucracy in ancient Kashmir was Kayastha.[61] Jonaraja uses the term Rajasthaniyas which, according to Stein, stands for state officials.[62] Their principal duty, besides carrying on the work of general administration consisted in the collection of taxes and revenue.

Ulema

The word ulema means a learned scholar. In plural form, the word ulema is used as the title for those bodies of learned doctors in Muhammadan divinity and law, who, headed by their Shaikh-ul-Islam, by their Fatawas or decisions in question touching public and private matters of importance, regulate the life of the Muhammadan community. In Kashmir, as elsewhere in the Islamic countries, the Ulema were held in high esteem. They enjoyed official status and were maintained by the State. From among the Ulema, the Qazis, Muftis, and Shaikh-ul-Islam were recruited. During the Chak period, the Ulema exercised enormous influence on the government. All matters relating to civil or religious issues were decided by them.[63] The Chak rulers, Husain Shah Chak and Yusuf Shah Chak particularly consulted them and sought their advice in matters of judicial administration.[64]

Sayyids

They formed a highly influential religious class among the Muslims. The Sayyids are the direct descendants of prophet, Muhammad and like the Brahmins in the Hindu society, the Sayyids were a highly respected class of Muslims in medieval Kashmir. Under political and military pressures of the Mongols and Timur in Persia and Central Asia, they came to Kashmir attracted by the munificence of the Sultans of Kashmir. The Sayyids poured into Kashmir in different groups.[65] In Kashmir, they were treated with special respect, and while some took to the profession of teaching, some were appointed Qazis and Muftis. Many of them were men of piety and supplied recruits to the ranks of Pirs and Murshids who acted as missionaries and spiritual preceptors of the ignorant masses. There were still others, like the Baihaqi Sayyids, who joined politics and entered into matrimonial alliances with the kings and nobles of Kashmir.[66] The Baihaqi Sayyids exercised considerable influence during the Chak rule. Sayyid Mubarak Baihaqi acted as a Wazir of king Ghazi Shah and Ali Shah Chak,[67] and got his son Sayyid Abul Maali married to the king's daughter.[68] He also ruled over Kashmir during the period of exile of king Yusuf Shah.[69] The anonymous author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* has written in praise of Sayyid Mubarak and his sons, Abul Maali, Sayyid Ibrahim, Sayyid Husain and Sayyid Jalal, who served the Chak royal house with full loyalty and devotion. According to Lawrence, the Sayyids stood first in the hierarchy of Kashmir.[70] One striking feature of the Baihaqi Sayyids was that though they had grown politically influential under the Chaks, yet they did not give up their life of piety and austerity as a fundamental religious duty.

With the annexation of Kashmir by Emperor Akbar, many of these Baihaqi Sayyids were transported to Delhi along with Yusuf Shah Chak and Yaqub Shah Chak. Even in exile, they remained faithful to their masters and when King Yusuf Shah died, his dead body was burried at Biswak by Sayyid Abul Maali. Similarly, Yaqub Shah's burial ceremony was also done by Sayyid Abul Maali at Biswak in Bihar.[71]

Zamindars

The people economically and politically dominant in the society were Rais, Amirs and chiefs, for whom the Persian chroniclers of Kashmir have frequently used the Mughal term inology zamindars.[72] In fact, the term cultivator has been disfigured as zamindars by the Persian chroniclers. These zamindars were holders of a piece of land under their own cultivation and malikiat. Our information about their detailed rights in land and their relations with the peasants, as zamindars of Mughal India, is very meagre. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* and Haidar Malik speaks of the zamindars of Khaka, Bawa Gani, Nagam and Kattar as providing Yaqub Shah Chak personal assistance against the Mughal enemy.[73] We have also references in a Persian chronicle to the co-operation extended by the zamindars to the king in suppression of the rebellions.[74] Abul Fazl also writes about the zamindars fighting against the Mughals.[75]

Peasantry

Kashmir being an agricultural region, the bulk of its population lived in villages and was taken to agriculture. Obviously, the people were predominantly peasants. During the Chak period, the chroniclers usually speak of their prosperous condition in Kashmir. No doubt, they suffered at times from floods and famines but they were comforted and consoled by the generous kings.[76] Sufficient arrangements were made by them to alleviate their sufferings in times of natural calamities. When the valley was once damaged by famine and fire, Ali Shah distributed grains stored in the royal granary to the famine-stricken people.[77] During the times of Lohar Shah Chak and Yusuf Shah Chak, writes a Persian chronicler, the production of food-grains was so much in abundance that a Kharwar,[78] of paddy was sold in the market at a very low price.[79]

The jagirdars were severely punished, if they were found oppressing the peasants. Husain Shah Chak despatched a force against his own brother Shankar Chak, when he was found

oppressing the peasants in his jagir at Naushehra. Shankar Chak died in the encounter and his jagir was transferred to another noble Masud Nayak by the orders of the king.[80] The system of begar was abolished for the first time and the rural folk was relieved from forced labour in the time of the Chaks.[81]

Sufis

The Sufis[82] formed another religious group in medieval Kashmir, which exercised considerable influence on the social, religious and cultural life of the people. The Muslim mystics or Sufis were men of deep religious fervour, who led an ascetic life with much emphasis on simplicity and self-discipline in their efforts to be in communion with God. The Sufis were devoted Muslims who moved within the limits of Shariat (law of Islam) and believed it as the way to salvation. They, however, attached an esoteric significance to the teaching of the 'Quran' and regarded inward light or initiative experience as far more important rather than dogmatic formalism of the orthodox type.[83]

The Chaks were great patrons of Sufis and their kingdom was adorned by a galaxy of them, celebrated alike for piety, simplicity and learning. The beginning of the Sufistic tradition should be traced in Kashmir to the early Muslim influences from outside. We have clear evidence of the establishment of various orders, (silsilahs) Suhrawardiya,[84] Kubraviya,[85] Qadriya,[86] Naqashbandiya[87] and those of the Nurbakhshiya, Rishis, by the time the Chaks began their reign.[88] The first four orders were introduced into Kashmir from Persia and Turkistan. The order of Nurbakhshiya was preached in Kashmir by Shams-ud-Din Iraqi.[89] The order of the Rishis was indigenous in origin. It was founded by Nur-ud-Din, who was born in the village of Kaimuh, about three and half Km. west of Bijbehara in 779/1377.[90] He was aided by his four eminent disciples, Zain-ud-Din, Latif-ud-Din, Bamu-d-Din and Nasru-d-Din.[91] "The four main centres of Rishis according to a modern historian were, Bamuzu, Aish-Maqam, Paskor and Chrar. From these centres the

Rishis teaching spread."[92] The order continued flourishing during the Chak rule in Kashmir.[93]

The Sufis played a significant role in spreading Islam in Kashmir. They always raised their voice against oppression and injustice.[94] They also played the role of social reformers. The evil custom of Sati was banned in Kashmir by Sultan Sikandar on the advice of Sayyid Ali Hamadani.[95] Similarly, Shaikh Ramza Makhdum called upon the people in the time of Chaks to lead a virtuous life, pay the religious tax, and acquire knowledge.[96]

While during the life time the Sufis acted as reformists, after their death their shrine became a source of income, where people in thousands paid visit (Ziarat). The Ziarat or Khanqahs, with which the country was studded became the centre of superstition and charlatanism and people who came there to beseech the aid of the saints also began to worship him. The saint worship is still common in Kashmir and many Muslim families have their Pirs, who are constantly exploiting this worship.

The celebrated Sufis of the Suhrawardiya order of the Chaks time were, Mulla Feroze Mufti,[97] Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, Tahir Rafiq, Shaikh Nauroz Rishi,[98] Baba Daud Khaki,[99] Khawaja Hasan Qari, Khawaja Isaq Qari, Baba Haidar Tulmuli, Maulna Shams-ud-Din Pal, Baba Rishi Robi Harvi,[100] Sayyid Jalal-ud-Din,[101] Baba Nasib-ud-Din[102] and Zatu Chak. Of the Naqshbandiya order, we find the name of Mulla Hasain who survived during and after the Chak rule.[103] Qadriya order was introduced into Kashmir by Sayyid Nimatullah Shah Qadri[104] in the time of the Chaks. Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi a celebrated scholar was attached to Kubraviya order.[105]

We find reference to the shrines of the various Sufis of the Chaks time, but details, to which particular Sufi silsilah they were attached is not available. They were Baba Qudus (died in 1578), Baba Wale (died in 1592), Mir Muhammad-b-Ahmed (died in 1602), Qada-i-Kashmir, Habibullah Hubi,[106] Shaikh Muhammad and Masawi Baldmari (died in 1615).[107] Some other Sufis of irregular orders whose brief details follow were, Gohar Sufi, Wahid Sufi and Khawaja Masud. The shrines of

all these Sufis, belonging to different regular and irregular Sufi silsilahs (order), are in Kashmir.[108]

Shaikh Hamza Makhdum,[109] known today as Hazrat-i-Sultan, was a celebrated Sufi of the sixteenth century, who was highly revered by the rulers and people alike. He was born in 1494[110] at Tijor, in the modern district of Baramulla in Kashmir, and has always been described as Shaikh, a convert from Hinduism. His father Baba Usman was originally a descendant of Chandravansi Rajput family of Nagarkot.[111]

After an elementry study of the Quran in Tijor, Shaikh Hamza was sent to Baba Ismail Kubravi, a well-known scholar of his time, who entitled him in the college known as Dar-ush-Shifa, at the foot of Hariparbat in Srinagar. Besides the Quran, its exegesis, tradition and the Fiqh, Shaikh Hamza studied Sufism and allied sciences. His noted teachers were Akhund Mulla Lutfulla and Mulla Fathulla Haqqani, the son of Baba Ismail Kubravi.[112]

Shaikh Hamza lived at a very crucial period in Kashmir. He saw the downfall of the Shahmir rulers and the rise of the Chaks, who were mostly Shias. When Shaikh was a force in the land, he was deported by Ghazi Shah Chak from the city of Srinagar to a village Biru about 32 Kms. from Srinagar. The Shaikh returned to the city only after Ghazi Shah's death.[113] He was kept in high honour by Husain Shah Chak and Ali Shah Chak. Both the kings use to pay visits to Shaikh Hamza. Shaikh Hamza died in 984 A.H./1576 A.D. at the age of eightyfour, in the time of Ali Shah Chak.[114] His co-worker Tahir Rafiq lead the Jinaza prayer. The Shaikh was buried in his favourite resort for meditation on a slope of Hariparbat in Srinagar.[115] The Pirzadas in Kashmir are said to be the descendants of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.[116]

Shaikh Hamza was the follower of Shihabuddin Suhrawardi of Baghdad.[117] He rapidly acquired a large following in Kashmir His followers are known as Suhrawardiyas. The Suhrawardiya silsilah (order) which acquired a huge followings during the Chaks time was because of Shaikh Hamza's sanctity. Like Sayyid Ali Hamadani and Shaikh Nur-ud-Din Rishi, Shaikh Makhdum played an important role in the work of

proselytisation[118] and exercised a considerable check on spread of shism. He called upon the people to lead a virtuous life, pay the religious taxes and acquire knowledge.[119] He was once so angry with a drunkard that he hit him on the head with a stick which caused his death.[120]

Shaikh Hamza was instrumental in setting up a large number of mosques in the valley. He had also acquired a control over his breath which he could hold pretty long. This particularly enabled him to enjoy cold baths during snow which relieved his headache due to long hours of devotional meditations.[121] Many other miracles are associated with Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. A spring of water still known as 'Makhdum Nag' runs through the shrine of Khawaja Hasan Qari (a devoted disciple of Shaikh Makhdum) and it is said that the great saint Makhdum caused the water flow from the hard dry rock. Makhdum Sahib had left his village as his companions laughed at his preaching and prophecies and insisted on taking share in forced labour in the village. Makhdum Sahib left Tijor cursing the people, "They should want water not only for their crops but even for drinking."[122] The curse is believed to have come true, for Tijor and Zaingiri are dry to this day.

Baba Daud Khaki, Khawaja Tahir Rafiq, Khawaja Masud, Baba Hasan Qari, Khawaja Isaq Qari, Baba Haidar Tulmuli, Zatu Chak and Maulana Shams-ud-Din Pal were among the devoted followers of Shaikh Hamza Mukhdum.[123]

Khawaja Tahir Rafiq, was a co-worker of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. Khawaja in his earlier days was a trader in cloth. He gave up trade after a period of twelve years and betook himself to the service of his religion. The Shia king Yaqub Shah wanted to get rid of him, but felt afraid to carry out his intentions. Like Shaikh Hamza, Khawaja Tahir left Srinagar and passed nine years of his life in the hills of Maraj. Subsequently, he stayed with Adar Suh, a leading Brahmin of the pargana Veri-Nag. Adar Suh embraced Islam under the influence of Khawaja Tahir.[124] Sufi writes that "Tahir Rafiq also left for India with Yaqub Sarfi to invite Emperor Akbar to invade Kashmir."[125]

Gohar Sufi : Another important mystic of the time was

Gohar Sufi. According to Abul Fazl, "Thirty years before Ghazi Shah, the ruler of Kashmir, had put his teacher to death on the suspicion that some rebels had sheltered in his house. The Darvesh (Gohar) had thereupon become disgusted with the life and struck a knife into his belly, but did not accomplish his purpose. Next time he thurst his belly against the edge of a wall and a fissure was opened whereby his bowls burst forth. But this too did not cause loss of his life. The portion of the bowls which was inside dried up at its bead, and there remained outside about a cubit in length. His excrement passed out by their aperture. He cleaned the upper portion and put it into a wooden vessel (awand). H.M. treated that broken hearted one kindly and a new rank was given to the devotee.[126]

Zatu Chak brother of Masud Chak, was a prominent Darvesh of Suhrawardiya order and a zealous disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.[127] In the time of Ali Shah Chak, when the valley was overtaken by famine, the king went to him. Zatu boldly said to Ali Shah that famine and hunger would synchronize with his death and that is believed to have come true.[128] Zatu Chak use to attend the company of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. He died in Kashmir and is buried in the Vargmulla in district Baramulla.[129]

Wahid Sufi, like Zatu Chak, was also another Sufi of the Chaks time but he was not known for his spiritual sanctity and the people called him insane and threw stones at him. But in the time of Yusuf Shah he was highly regarded when he attracted the notice of the people for his spiritual attainments. When there was much talk about the advent of the Mughal force under Raja Bhagwan Das, King Yusuf Chak went to him for his blessings. But the Darvesh clearly told him, though the Mughal army would turn back by the middle of the road, yet the country would go out of his hands. The prophecy finally came true.[130] Details are not available about the last days of Wahid Sufi.

Khawaja Masud, was a Sufi of much celebrity and lived at Pampore. It was he who prophesied about Zun's (Habba Khatun's) glorious days, when she went to seek blessings of the Khawaja. The Khawaja changed her name from Zun to Habba

Khatun,[131] by which name she is remembered even today.[132]

Besides these Sufis, there were numerous Pirs with their Murids, who lives in the Khanqahs,[133] endowed for maintenance by the princes and nobles, with their families and followers.[134] The followers were taught how to attain mystic experience and they lived in close association with the Pir till they reached the highest spiritual stage. Thereafter, they moved out to different places teaching their masters' ways (tariqa) and making new disciples.[135] This practice is still common in Kashmir.

Dards

The tribal people of Chitral, Yasin, Gilgit, Chillas, Bunji and the Kishanganga valley immediately to the north and north-west of Kashmir are known as Dards. According to Dr. Leitner, "Dards have no name in common but call each Dard tribe, that inhabit a different valley by different name." Kalhana has mentioned a number of inroads made by them into Kashmir over the centuries. Obviously, the safety of the valley has necessitated expedition against these troublesome neighbours under the many kings. Srivara speaks of Dards inhabiting different villages, but the name of these villages is not clearly mentioned. However he refers to the newly constructed bridge called Zaina-Kadal in Srinagar was the tenth numerically in the way from the Dard village to the capital city.[136] Obviously, it may be no other bridge than that which spanned the Jehlum from Zain-Kadal to Wular lake. The Chaks, who ruled Kashmir (1554-1586) were one of the Dard tribe and as discussed earlier, they found their way into Kashmir under Langer Chak early in the 14th century and settled in Tragam in Baramulla district.[137] From their settlement in Tragam, one can safely place the Dards villages around the south-eastern periphery of the Wular lake.

The Kokal Tash Tribe

The author *Baharistan-i-Shahi* speaks of Kokal Tash tribe, a turbulent and ferocious inhabiting the frontier province of

Naushehra. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin is said to have brought this tribe under subjugation and reduce to obedience.[138] Though, we do not have any information about their activities during the Chaks, but it does mean, they ceased to exist.

Boatman

The boatmen, now called hanjis, formed an important class in the socio-economic life of Kashmir since the immemorial times. They afforded the people, as it does now, sufficient scope for the movements of traffic along the waterways. They were earlier known as Dhiyar[139] or Kooryian.[140] The boatmen constitute a distinctly different a sizable section of Kashmirs' section and live in a boat of different size and type. During the times of Shahmiri rulers, they were to pay tax for the navigation in the waterways. However, they were exempted from this onerous tax by the king, Yusuf Shah Chak.[141]

Occupational Classes

Associated with industrial arts were men of proficiency in different skills, pursuing different occupations, such as spinning and weaving, carpet making, book binding, paper making, stone and glasswork, plume making, boat making, window-cutting, gold-beating and several others.[142]

Indirect references are also found to the existence of mid-wives, physicians, teachers, dancers and musicians, calligraphists, acrobats, scribes, firework makers, miners, butchers, brick-layers, potters, gold-smiths, gold washers, milk-men, bhurjha leaf makers, black-smiths, brewers, wine vendors, carpenters, masons and unskilled manual labours. Timber merchants, seems to be a prosperous class throughout the Muslim period as even today, for timber formed the bulk of architectural and commercial value. Many of these arts received a great impetus in the time of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70)[143] and they continued to progress even to this day.

Merchants

Belonging to middle strata of society, the merchants were economically a dominant class during medieval Kashmir. Engaged in import and export of merchandise, they grew more wealthy in the time of the Chaks. The progress in shawl industries and other commercial arts, discussed elsewhere, gave further impetus to their trade.[144] This was particularly for their riches and wealth that king and nobles paid high regard to this class.

The two merchants, Tutt and Sribatta were held in great reverence by Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413).[145] Khawaja[146] Haji, the agent of Mirza Haidar Dughlat (1540-51) in Kashmir played an active role in Kashmir politics.[147] The Chak rulers associated a number of these Khawajas with nobility. Fateh Khawaja and his son were the favourite nobles of Husain Shah Chak, on whom the latter conferred upon the titles of 'Khan-i-Zaman and Bahadur Khan'.[148] Khawaja Sara and Khawaja Malik were nobles of great confidence to Yusuf Shah Chak.[149] Khawaja Qasim, a rich merchant, was send by Yusuf Shah Chak to the Mughal governor Man Singh in Lahore, as his Vakil. After his return from Lahore, the Khawaja was honoured with the chair of wizarat.[150] The Khawaja Qasim, afterwards played a mischievous role in the Kashmir politics.[151] The Khawajas lived in their palatial buidings constructed on both the sides of river Jehlum. Their business tours extended even beyond India in the Gulf countries and China.[152]

Commoners

These include the masses engaged in earning their livelihood through various menial means, to which they were professionally attached with. They were peasants, artisans, butchers, ferrymen, gardeners, shepherds, dombas and chandalas, chamars (shoe-makers). This was the poorest class of the society. Under the Shahmiri rulers they were bound to pay taxes for their professions. The Chaks made a departure from this practice and relieved this poor class from the onerous taxes. Ghazi Shah Chak was the first to give concessions in the evil

practice of begar (forced labour)[153] and Ali Shah Chak stopped this practice completely.[154] He also stopped the evil custom of utilizing the free service of hanjis (ferrymen) for seven days in every month.[155] Yusuf Shah Chak went a step ahead, and forbade the collection of taxes which the poor classes were paying under Shahmiri regime.[156]

The Dombas, Chandalas and Chamars remained extremely poor class of the society throughout the Muslim rule. Unable to face starvation, the Dombas were found committing robbery during the time of Chaks.[157] So was the case with Chandalas who became morally lax owing to acute economic poverty. They performed the menial jobs like handling the bodies of persons executed or killed in war.[158] The condition of Chamars was obviously pitiable and lived from hand to mouth. They performed the work of fleecing the hides of dead animal and after processing it in their own crude fashion, the rough shoes were prepared. This was their poor source of livelihood.[159]

We have no reference in the contemporary records about the existence of slavery in the medieval Kashmir. No doubt, the slavery played an important part, on a large scale, in the social and political life of medieval Islam, but the Chak kings, nobles and merchants look upon this inhuman practice with abhorrence. This is obvious from an agreement made between Emperor Akbar and Shaikh Yakub Sarfi, who requested the former to annex Kashmir (in 1586) on the plea that "Kashmiris shall not be made slaves and servants."[160] Abul Fazl says, "probably this was to forestall the Mughal custom of taking slaves from the subjugated valley."[161]

Position of Women

With the spread of Islam in Kashmir, the whole society underwent a great transformation in due course of time. Regarding the position of women, Islam came as a good riddance for them. It raised the status of women who were relegated to subordinate position under the Hindu rule. Islam granted them equal rights with the men. Widowhood, Sati, Suicide and dedication of girls to temple ceased. Married women claimed their right to property.

During the entire Muslim rule, position of women was no different than that of other women in Hindustan, Persia and Turkistan. Only women belonging to Sayyid, Naqashbandi, Moulvi and upper classes of Shia community could afford the luxury of staying within the four walls of the house. The rest of them rub their shoulders with their husbands in farms, gardens or on river. They moved, doing outdoor work, without veil.[162]

Education was widespread among the well-to-do ladies of upper and middle class. The education of religious nature was imparted by the Moulvis in Maktabs established in all the corners of valley.[163] The cultured ladies like Sura, Hayat Khatun, Gul Khatun and Habba Khatun took an active interest in establishing schools, monasteries and mosques. Habba Khatun in addition to Kashmiri was proficient in Arabic and Persian learning and completed the basic education of those days comprising Shaikh Sadis' 'Kavinama', 'Gulistan' and 'Bostan'.[164] Hindu women were taught education in Pathshalas by the Pandits. Higher education was also imparted in the Pathshalas. Women coming from lower strata of society were illiterate for they could neither afford tuition and time to attend Maktab nor the society tolerate their creative literary talents. Habba Khatun became a problem for her father when she acquired literary talents. She became the talk of everyone in her village, thus making her life miserable.[165]

An early marriage for both the boys and girls were favoured and it was a family matter rather than the choice of boy or girl. This imposition in many cases proved disastrous. Day to day differences and divorce were often the result of such arranged marriages. Laleshwari of 14th century and Habba Khatun of 16th century stands clear examples.

Since, the Chaks rulers were leading a highly morale life, there was no scope for prostitution or concubinage but the polygamy was practised within Shariah.

Dress

A period of transition began in Kashmir within the establishment of cultural ties with Arabic, Persia and Turkistan. The

introduction of new fashions in dresses was also the result of this contact. Prior to this development, the Kashmiri men generally wore long loose tun ic like the inhabitants of Ladakh, Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan. They covered the long hair ed head with a piece of white cloth. The loose tonic was mostly made of woollen stuff (Pattu) or cotton. Leather jackets were wore during winter as a protection against the blast of cold.[166] The use of 'Kangri' during winter never disappeared in Kashmir even to this day. While travelling, the people wore legging of 'Pattu' and straw shoes (pulharies). These articles are, even today used in Kashmir, by the poor community.

The new fashions in dress as was introduced into Kashmir first, with the advent of Sayyid Hamadani in the reign of Sultan Qutub-ud-Din. Both the Hindus and the Muslims, belonging to upper class welcomed this change. Thus, wide trouser (Sarawil) of Persia, began to be used to cover the lower portion of the body while upper portion had a full sleeves shirt (chemis).[167] Sadri or short vest was weared over the shirt. The outer robe was called chogha and descended to the ankles.[168] A cap covered with a cloth formed turban, the head dress.[169]

Silk

Silk dress were worn on festive occasions by the king and nobles or bestowed as khilats by them to their favourites.[170] Shawl was also an item of luxury for the kings, nobles and rich merchants.[171] Ornaments were used by the rich.[172]

The dress of lower classes were not much subject to foreign influence and the mode and type of dress did not change much under independent Muslim rulers of Kashmir. The masses continued wearing apparel, a long, loose, large-sleeved woollen tune called even today 'Phairan' after the Persian 'Pirahan'. It open from the neck to the waist and falls down to the ankles with a belt round to the waist.[173] The 'dastar' (turban) was put on over clean shaven head by men.[174] The drawers (izar) used earlier by both the sexes, had subsequently been discarded by women as is clear from the account of Jahangir, "they con-

sidered wrong to wear drawers, they wear tunic long and ample as far as the head and falling down to the feet, and they also wear belt."[175] The head dress of Muslim was, as even today, 'Kasahaba' while that of Hindu women as 'taranga', which tied to a hanging bonnet falling to the heels behind.[176]

Jahangir, in his memoirs condemn Kashmiris 'for not wearing clean, washed clothes and using only one tunic of pattu for three or four years.'[177] Perhaps, Emperor Jahangir has forgot to note the excessive cold climate of Kashmir for which Kashmiris took their bath at long intervals and owing to poverty, they could not afford more than one Phairan, which they use until it was worn out. It was only then that they could go for a new one.

Food

Rice remained a staple diet of Kashmiris throughout the Hindu and Muslim period, as it is today. This is the reason that paddy is grown on large scale even to this day.[178] Mostly, the rice was boiled thoroughly, in a certain quantity of water, till it absorbed all the water. It was then kept overnight and taken in the morning.[179] Kangri close to stomach and a woollen cloak was sufficient to digest this staple food during severe winter months. Under the Persian influence, the rice began to be cooked in various kinds of pilavs like tursh pilav, zard pilav, and shulla pilav.[180] Saffron and various kinds of spices fromed important ingredients in the Kashmiri cooking.[181] The consumption of wheat as an item of food was very limited and hence, it was not much grown in the valley.[182] Barely was used in religious ceremonies of Hindus and was simple food for poors.[183] Ghee, vegetables, meat, milk, pickles, vinegar, nadur and wine constituted the meals of all Kashmiris throughout the Muslim period.[184] The vegetables were dried up and preserved for winter even as today. Pulses of several varieties, viz., Chana, Kultha, Masura, Muga, Mash and millet were grown and eaten.[185] For drinking water, the Kashmiris preferred the water of Dal Lake, which is digestable, rather than the water of river Jehlum.

Flesh of various birds, goat, ram and fowl was commonly

eaten.[186] We have no reference to the use of Pork in food which was common before Muslim rule.[187] The meat of horse was eaten with relish by Muslims of medieval Kashmir is mentioned by Khawaja Isaq Qari.[188] Beef, in the beginning of Muslim rule was not eaten commonly but gradually it became so popular, that sometimes even Hindus partook of it.[189] It was openly sold in the markets.[190] It seems that Kashmiri Muslims have a natural repugnance for beef as the Pandits had for Fork under Hindu rule.

Mention have already been made about the production of various kinds of fruits, which were rarely brought or sold. Apples, Pears, grapes, apricot, plumps, cherries and peaches were the principle fruits, that were eaten.[191] Wine was also taken both on ceremonial occasions and for recreation.[192] Intoxicants like opium and bhang were also common among the people.[193]

Amusements and Recreations

Dice and Chess were favourite indoor games of the people from ancient times.[194] Both these were popular under Muslim rule. Among the outdoor games Chawagan (polo introduced into Kashmir from Ladakh) was favourite recreation among the kings and nobles. Ali Shah Chak while playing polo game received a fatal cut in the belly and finally succumbed to his injury.[195] Hunting and falconry were chief amusements of upper classes. Falcons were received in tribute from Kishtwar.[196] The king and nobles also derived great pleasure in looking at the demonstrations of feats of archers and military artifices.[197] Husain Shah Chak fixed Wednesday of every week for this particular amusement. The common people amusement was hockey.[198] Music and dance was very popular with the Kashmiris throughout the Muslim period. The music and dance received a great impetus under the Chak rule. Husain Shah Chak used to enjoy the company of musicians at his court on every Tuesday of the week.[199] Yusuf Shah patronized the Music at his court for his great entertainment.[200]

Houses

The houses were built two to four storeys and sometimes even more. The material used in buildings was wood, for it was found in abundance. Stone and bricks, were also used but in a small quantity. The roofs were covered with small planks, fastened together with cords. The small planks were printed in such a way that it could throw off snow easily. Further it was covered with a layer of earth on which white and violet lilies and tulips were grown in spring season. It obviously added to the beauty of houses. Jahangir in his memoirs has highly praised the beauty which the houses presented in spring.[201]

The thatch of poors dwellings in the villages or near the lake were usually of rice straw or of reeds[202] and were subject to fire any time. Instead of windows or glasses, they were ventilated with artistic work.[203] The family mostly live in upper storey while the lower storey was kept for cattle. Houses of the rich were situated on the bank of Jehlum river with beautiful gardens attached with them.[204] Cellars, for prisoners were also attached with some houses.[205] Some houses of rich were attached with bathroom near the kitchen part. This was because a big earthen pot (Kashmiri call it Mutt) was fixed in the baths in such a way that it could easily get heat from Kitchen's hearth. This process was useful for them during winter season when they require hot water. Moorcroft in his itinerary writes about the conditions of Kashmiri's houses in 1823 that "the houses are mostly in a neglected and ruinous condition, with broken doors or no doors at all, with windows stopped with boards, paper or rags...all a striking picture of wretchedness and decay.[206] Similar condition has already been noticed by Forster during his travel in 1793.[207]

Festivals

The Hindu life has a big room for social festivals in Kashmir. Most among the popular festivals were the Shivratri, Vyath Tiumah (birth day of river Jehlum), Gada batha. Khichri Amavas, Dussehra, Nagyatra and Ganchakra. Sultan

Husain Shah Chak respected the sentiments of Hindu brethren and participated in the festivals of Navereh (New Year's day) and Basant Pançhami and gave them quilts and money.[208]

Vyath Trumah, was an ancient custom in Kashmir. Every year on this day all the non-Muslims light lamps on the banks of river Jehlum.[209] Jahangir on his visit to Kashmir found the Kashmiri Hindus celebrating this festival with full eclat.[210] The Chak kings of Kashmir never interfered in festivals of Hindus and Kashmiri Muslims continued to honour their tradition and sentiments. Such a kind of treatment gave way to the accommodation of communal sentiments.

Unlike their Hindu brethren, the Muslims have little room for social festivals. They celebrate two Idds with great exuburance and maintained austerity on the occasion of Shab-i-Barat, Muherram and Nauroz. They have manifested great zeal, even as today, for festivals like Urs-i-Shah-i-Hamadani, Urs-i-Cherar Sharief, Ziarat Hazratbal (also called Mehraj Sharief) and Urs-i-Makhdum Saheb.

Social Intercourse between Hindus and Muslims

The spread of Islam in the beginning, no doubt, aroused the hostility of Brahmins. They tried to put a challenge to the Islamic missionaries but soon realised the futility of opposition and adopted the course of goodwill and amity. No communal clash ever occurred during Muslim rule in Kashmir. We have references to the marriage of a Hindu girl with a Muslim boy.[211]

Hindu wives were allowed to retain their name even after marriage with a Muslim. Raja Bahadur of Kishtwar married his sister, Shankar Devi, with the last Chak ruler Yaqub Chak and she continued to be called with her Hindu name till her death.[212] The anonymous author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* refers, to the marriage of a Chak noble Regi Chak with the daughter of Hindu Raja of Jammu.[213] Hindus and Muslims participated in each others festivals.[214] Discussion between the Hindu Yogis and Muslim saints were common and a Chak king, Husain Shah Chak had fixed Saturday of every week for such meetings.

The Hindus of Kashmir even to this day, visit the Muslim shrines to beseech inspiration.

Tax Structure

The Chak kings, as others before and after them, had to incur a heavy expenditure over their armies. The court, the royal household and personal attendants of the king also accounted for a substantial portion of the revenues of the state. Then, provisions had to be made also for the famine days, the salaries and allowances of the central, provincial, and local officers. To meet these expenses, the king imposed taxes on their subjects.

Generally, moderate and lenient policy was followed by the Chak rulers in matters relating to taxation which afforded relief to the masses. Exemption from Jaziya in the time of Yusuf Shah,[215] abolition of forced labour (begar)[216] in the time of Ghazi Shah, and tax concessions in times of natural calamities highlight the consideration of the Chak kings for the people's welfare.[217]

Unfortunately, details are not available stating the various heads of taxation under the Chaks. However, the fiscal system established by the Chaks can be reconstructed on the basis of references found scattered in the sources. The fiscal system, however, can be discussed under the two heads : (1) Land Revenue and (2) other sources.

Before discussing the first source of income it is appropriate to review the agricultural products on which the revenue was levied.

Agricultural Products

In Kashmir, as elsewhere in India, the bulk of population took to agriculture as the principal source of livelihood. Shali or paddy was extensively cultivated as it was the staple food of the Kashmiris from very early times.[218] The other grains like barley and wheat were grown in small quantities.[219] Barley appears to have been used in religious ceremonies of

the Hindus.[219a] The consumption of wheat, as an item of food, was also limited. Pulses of several varieties such as, Chana, Kultha, Masura and Muga, Mash and millet were grown.[220] We learn from Abul Fazl that on three agricultural products only, such as, paddy, wheat and vetch (a grass for fodder), revenue was levied.[221] It seems pulses and barley were exempted from taxation.

The fruits of several varieties were produced in abundance and were freely available to all without payment. Among the indigenous fruits mention may be made of apple, pears, grapes, mulberry, walnut, quince, cherry, peach, apricot, rashberry, goosberry and strawberry.[222] Their exclusion from taxation was obvious.[223] The most celebrated agricultural product was saffron the cultivation of which was a state monopoly under the Chaks.[224]

Classification of Land

Prior to the establishment of the Chak rule, Mirza Haidar Dughlat (1540-51 A.D.)[225] classified all the land of Kashmir into four kinds : (i) artificially irrigated land; (ii) naturally irrigated land; (iii) gardens (or Baghi); and (iv) level land which was uncultivated owing to excessive moisture.[226]

Since there is no reference to any further development in the classification of land under the Chaks, the above classification continued in operation under the Chaks. But the manner in which this classification was used for the purpose of revenue assessment is not indicated.

Land Revenue

Kharaj, or the land revenue, was therefore the main source of state income in Kashmir, as elsewhere in India, during ancient and medieval periods.[227] The problem of land revenue involved a number of aspects which can conveniently be studied under the following heads :

A. Method of Assessment

The system of measurement of land for the purpose of

assessment of revenue was in vogue in ancient and medieval times. Under Sultan Alauddin Khalji the system was known as Masahat. It was later abandoned but was re-introduced by Sher Shah and again by Akbar as the Zabti system. Earlier in Kashmir under Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70) the land was measured and its produce ascertained.[228] There is no mention of the method adopted in ascertaining the produce of land. There is a strong possibility of the existence of some kind of data in the form of local revenue records which are not available today. The total land in each village was measured in 'pattas'.[229] A 'patta' was the unit of land equivalent to one bigha and one biswah of Emperor Akbar's time and a little more than 2½ Kashmiri bighas.[230] The produce of one 'patta' of land was taken as a basis for calculating the total produce of the entire area covered under paddy in every village separately.[231] The total annual produce of paddy under the Chaks was estimated at 20 lakhs of Kharwars,[232] which remained unchanged throughout the Chak period. Thus, in case of paddy, the system of group assessment and collection of revenue with village as a unit was adopted. It was assessed in Kharwars, each Kharwar being equal to three maunds and eight seers of Emperor Akbar's time.[233] The government charged one-third of the produce in kind.[234] The state share for wheat and vetch was, however, different. It was fixed at two traks per 'patta' of land cultivated.[235] One trak was equal to eight seers. The government share was indeed quite small perhaps because the yield of wheat was very low,[236] as it is even today. In case of Vetch, however, the state share at the rate of two traks per 'patta' realized in kind was perhaps sufficient to meet the governmental requirements.

B. Ownership of Land

The proprietary right of the cultivator in the soil was fully recognized both in theory and practice in ancient India. Dr. K.P. Jaiswal discussed the question of owership of land in all its aspects and came to the conclusion that it rested with the cultivators.[237] The issue was re-examined by Dr. P. Saran in

connection with his studies of the Rajput polity. He concluded that "in Rajputana, just as in the rest of the country, the peasant was the proprietor of the soil, the king or his jagirdars bearing a claim only on a share of its produce."[238] The position was, in no way, different in medieval Kashmir. While discussing the agrarian structure prevailing during the reign of a 15th century king of Kashmir, a modern scholar has recently established that "the proprietary right of the tiller in the soil is unmistakably reflected in the private transactions of the sale and purchase of land during his reign."[239] The land revenue charged from cultivators was in the nature of a tax rather than a rent. The rights of peasants in land remained undisturbed under the Chaks for there is no evidence to suggest their abrogation. The jagirs were frequently transferred from one noble to another but there is no mention of any cultivator being dispossessed of his land.

Khalisa Land

Curiously enough, the term "Khalisa land,"[240] though often referred by the chroniclers of Kashmir, have not been clearly defined. It can be no land other than that reserved for the state as opposed to the land assigned or granted to individuals. During the whole medieval period in Kashmir as under the Sultan of Delhi, the immemorial tradition was that the new king makes the fresh divisions of the kingdom of his own choice. Apart from the Khalisa land which was kept reserved for state treasury, the remaining kingdom was granted in jagirs to the nobles.[241] If moreland is to be believed, there exists no crown land throughout the Muslim rule in Kashmir, as has been stated by Mohibbul Hasan.[242] Indirect evidences are scattered on the different pages of the Persian histories about Khalisa land being administered by the Revenue Ministry, the details of which are definitely in some revenue records which are yet to be traced out. No information about the extent of the Khalisa is available in the local records.

Other Sources

(a) Saffron[243]

Kashmir is celebrated for its production of saffron from early times. It is chiefly cultivated in the neighbourhood of Pampur (near Srinagar) along the right bank of the Jehlum river. Outside, it is grown in Kishtwar (a town in Doda district, J&K).

Saffron cultivation was a state monopoly in ancient and medieval Kashmir, and it remained so under the Chak rulers. Before the Chaks, saffron was collected by compulsory labour (begar). Men were daily pressed into service to separate saffron from the petals and the stem, for which they received very low wages in form of salt.[244] A person sifting two palas[245] of saffron flowers, received an equal quantity of salt as remuneration.[246] It is, indeed, remarkable that the evil system of forcing labour to work on the saffron fields was abandoned by the first Chak ruler, Ghazi Shah.[247] Now, out of the total produce of eleven traks (one trak equal to eight seers of Akbar's time)[248] one trak went to the labourers employed to collect saffron.[249] Out of the remaining ten traks, the Chak kings had to furnish yearly two Akbar Shahi seers of clear dry saffron to emperor Akbar. Saffron was also imported into Kashmir from Kishtwar in the form of tribute.[250]

(b) Jaziya

As elsewhere in India, Jaziya was levied in Kashmir only on the non-Muslims as the cash equivalent of the assistance of which they would be liable to give if they had not persisted in their unbelief, because living as they do in the Muslim state, they must be ready to defend it. Military service was theoretically compulsory on all Muslims. This religious duty did not affect non-Muslims because they were not bound by the law of Islam; hence they were required to pay tax (Jaziya) in lieu of military service. Naturally, the tax was not imposed on those who fought in a Muslim state. No evidence

exists in the chronicles to indicate that Jaziya was realized from the Non-Muslims before Sultan Sikandar in Kashmir. It was first in the time of Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413) that Jaziya was imposed on the non-Muslims and administration conformed to the Islamic practice.[251] But his son Zain-ul-Abidin was the first to give concessions in Jaziya;[252] the Emperor Akbar second to abolish it completely. The Chaks, too, had king Yusuf Shah who restored the shattered confidence of his non-Muslim subjects by remitting the onerous tax of Jaziya.[253] Before and after him, all the Chak rulers collected Jaziya. The Sanskrit chronicler Suka writes that formerly the kings of the house of Chaks used to exact an annual fine from the Brahmins, owing to the animosity towards the people of that caste. In every house a Brahmin of good family and character used to pay a tribute of forty panas[254] to the king.[255]

(c) *Zakat and Custom Duty*

The religious tax under the Shariat are grouped under the name of Zakat, so called because Muslim purifies himself of greed and avarice by sharing his property with the poor and needy.[256]

The Muslim rulers of Kashmir collected Zakat, according to the rates prescribed by the Shariat. Though its payment was not obligatory yet in the reign of certain kings, it was realised by the state just like other taxes. Thus, under Ali Shah and Yusuf Shah, every person except boatmen were forced to pay Zakat.[257] Zakat was deposited in a separate treasury and spent for the welfare of needy and poor.[258]

The realisation of custom duty known as Rah-dari,[259] though forbidden in Islamic law, was yet allowed to operate in Kashmir during the Chak rule. The custom duty on the articles of import and export was collected at all frontiers. The jurists resolved the contradiction between theory and practice by bringing the custom duty under the heading of religious source of income. Under the Chaks, the guardian of the passes were incharge of realising this tax.[260]

(*d*) *Other Cesses*

During the reign of Hindu rulers of Kashmir, different kinds of taxes realised from the people were taxes on boatmen, artisans, import and export of goods, passengers, wool, cattle grazing, criminals, forced labour (begar) and Baj and Tamgha.[261] With the establishment of Sultanate many of these taxes were abolished. Sultan Sikandar abolished Baj and Tamgha[262] and Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin forbidden the officers from imposing arbitrary fines upon the people.[263] Among the Chaks, Ghazi Shah relieved the cultivators from vexatious practice of forced labour (begar)[264] and Ali Shah, Yusuf Shah stopped begar and realising the tax on artisans, cows, the Zakat and corvee on ferrymen.[265]

All these cesses (Sair-i-Jihat, a term used for all kinds of taxes other than the land tax) were paid in cash during the Chak rule.[266]

(*e*) *Tribute*

Tribute from the various neighbouring states like Ladakh, Kishtwar, Baltistan and others which were subject to Kashmir, also added to the state exchequer. Under the Chaks (1554-1586 A.D.) tribute was received in the form of horses, yaks, wool, pattu (cloth of wool) and leather from Ladakh,[267] and saffron felcons from Kishtwar.[268] The nature of tribute coming to Kashmir from other tributary states is nowhere mentioned. The realisation of tribute from these states depended upon the ability of the king to enforce the demand. Under the later Shahmiri rulers, when the central government fell weak, all the neighbouring state discontinued the practice of sending tribute. Nevertheless, they were brought under an effective control by Ghazi Shah Chak,[269] and therefore, the neighbouring Rajas were bound to pay regular tribute throughout the Chak rule. However, the Kishtwar Raja, Bahadur Singh, made an attempt to broke away from the subjugation of Kashmir king in the time of Ali Shah, but he was immediately forced to come to terms when a regularly army was send by Ali Shah, to reduce Kishtwar.[270]

Trade

Kashmir has been a great centre of trade and commerce since the period of remote antiquity. Geographically, it occupies a key position touching the border of India through south and Tibet, Nepal, Afghanistan, China, Central Asia, Kabul through the north and north-west. Kashmir merchants extended their commercial tours beyond these countries upto Tehran and Meshed. Their main routes were through Lahore, Delhi, Bombay, Bushir, Shiraz, without passing through Gabulistan for a good reason, as is mentioned by Victor Jacquemont.[271] The trade was a source of considerable revenue to the state and provided employment to a large number of Kashmiris.

Internal Trade

We have references regarding internal trade in the autobiography of Mirza Haider Dughlat and Emperor Jahangir. Mirza Haidar (1540-1551) refer to the markets and streets of Srinagar which were all paved with hewn stones. Only drapers and retail dealers were to be found.[272] Tradesmen like grocers, druggists, bakers, bear sellers and other articles like earthen wares, bronze and copper utensils, leather good sellers did business in their own houses.[273] To check the black-marketing, control over the prices of commodities was also regulated by monthly notifications.[274] Jahangir in his memoirs mention the better conditions of merchants in medieval Kashmir.[275] From Jahangir's description it can be presumed that market control did not materially hinder the growth of trade for the traders were in well-to-do position. Trade of grain was mostly carried by rich merchants. Government also stock large quantity of rice purposely for famine days when the prices went to hike. In order to relieve people during famine, food was openly sell in the markets at very low rates by the government and prices automatically come down to the normal level.[276] Trade in the handicrafts articles like shawls, silks, woollen goods and various other products was in the hands of private traders. Towns like Sopore, Baramulla, Shupian,

Avantipur, Surapura, Pariharpura and Sankara pattana etc. were the main centre of trade.[277] The internal trade was carried on both by land and river. An ordinary trader (called Banjaras) carry loads upon their shoulders and roam village to village while the rich utilise the service of horses, pal anquins or litters.[278] Rich riverine traffic too was carried along the navigable parts of the Jehlum. The boats were used for conveyance from a remote period. During the medieval period, boats were also employed for carrying commercial goods from one end of the country to the other. The river Jehlum played an important part in the commercial traffic of valley is evident from the fact that most of the cities and towns of Kashmir flourished on its bank. Rivers were spanned by bridges constructed of deodar wood. The rope bridges over the river were only meant for foot traffic and were broken up at the approach of enemy.[279]

Trade Routes and Rahdari

References are found scattered in the accounts of foreign travellers and native literature about the principle routes of Kashmir through which trade and commerce was carried during medieval period. The trade between Kashmir and Punjab was carried on through the passes in Pir Panjal (11,400 feet high).[280] The present Zoji-la-pass[281] to the east of valley was an important route leading to Ladakh and then to Tibet and China. Ladakh remained the chief commercial centre of Kashmiris during the whole Muslim period.[282]

The Kashmir merchants caravan, including horses, provisions and servants going to Yarqand entered Karakoram pass. Passing through Ladakh, Sabu, Akhkan and Chou-Jangal (great jungle) from there they could go to Yarqand. All the routes coming from Ladakh, Tibet, China, Khotan and India joined there together making it an important commercial centre.[283] From Yarqand, the merchants even went further to Kashgar, Samarqand and Bukhara[284] while some proceed to China, covering the extensive journey within three months duration.[285] In the century A.D., the Chinese pilgrim Hieun-Tsang entered Kashmir through this route. Ou-Kong, coming from Gandhara

followed this route on his way to Kashmir.[286]

Another route leading to Central Asia and China ran from the north shore of Wular lake, through the modern village of Atawal and Vijjemarg leading to Astor and Balti territories and across the high glacier-crowned Karakoram main range beyond it. Owing to its inaccessibility, it was less frequented. But the Chinese travellers Fa-hien (399 A.D.), Che-mong (400 A.D.) and Chinese pilgrim Ou-Kong followed this route to Kashmir.[287] Ou-Kong describe it as the second pass of Kashmir leading to Po-Oiu or Baltistan.[288] Trade between Kashmir and to some parts of Dardistan was also carried through this route.

Trade communication was also maintained with Trans-Oxiana through Gilgit. From Gilgit, passing over to Hindu-Kush, Pamiram and then crossing the river oxus, the Kashmiri traders enter Trans-Oxiana.[289] Kashmir was connected to Persia through Punjab.[290]

Kashmiri Merchants carrying their merchandise to Nepal and Tibet marched through Leh to Kuti and from there some went to Tibet and even to Peking while others proceed to Kathmandu. By the valley of Nepal, they even went upto Patana and Bengal in Hindustan.

The mountainous passes, through which trade was carried on, were well protected for fear of foreign invasions and each of them had a watch station (Dranga) at the end of the route. Each dranga was under the supervision of a 'Malik' during Shahmiri rule. Under the Chaks, the guardian of the passes were called Nayaks.[291] No passenger was allowed to pass outside the watch station without a specific permit called in Persian 'Khatt-i-Rahdari'.[292] This system serve a kind of check on unauthorised emigration. The Nayak, in addition to a military officer, was to discharge the duty of custom officer and collect duties (Rah-dari).[293] Kalhana points out clearly about the stamping and registration of import and export commodities at the watch stations.[294] To maintain this whole record fairly, it seems that at each watch station a big department would have been working under the Nayak.

Import and Export

The main items of import were salt, shawl-wool, gold, musk, leather, silk worm eggs, Yashab (oriental Jade) precious stones, horses etc. Salt, as essential article of life, has remained an expensive item in Kashmir. It was imported into Kashmir from Punjab by the route of Pir Panjal.[295] Salt was also imported from Ladakh and distant Bengal. Scarcity of salt during the winter has often caused great hardship to the poor Kashmiris.[296] Shawl wool was brought from Ladakh, Yarqand and from Rodokand and Shanthan, the two dependencies of Tibet lying to its east and south-east.[297] Tibet also exported to Kashmir gold and musk[298] and Ladakhi merchants supplied woollen cloth and pattu to Kashmir.[299] The Punjab had extended its trade relations with Ladakh and Yarqand, through Kashmir, and supplied these parts leather embroidered cloth and Lac.[300] Silk worm eggs were brought to Kashmir from Gilgit and Baltistan.[301] Khotan exported Kashmir Yashab, silk, paper, carpet, pottery, brass and copper vessels.[302] Precious stones were imported from Yarqand, Bukhara and Badakshan.[303] Musk and silk came from Kashgar and Good breed horses were brought from Iraq, Iran and Turkistan.[304] From China, the traders import musk, China-wood, rhubarb, silk, tea, swallow wort and porcelain.[305]

The essential item of Kashmir's export was its shawl to all its commercial centres as Abul Fazl writes 'to every clime'.[306] Beside, Kashmir exported musk, saffron, silk, woollen, cloth, crystals, dried raisins, walnuts, paper, fruit, timber and wood work.

Medium of Exchange

The economic condition of any country finds its reflection in its medium of exchange. In Kashmir since the olden days, the coins of Gold (Muhur), silver and copper were medium of exchange in economic transaction during medieval Kashmir.[307] Gold coins were, particularly, the only medium of exchange in acceptable to foreign merchants. Since, all the Gold poured into Kashmir from the outside, its value was obviously very high and the poor could not think of it. We have certain

references about the minting of gold coins under the Shahmiri and the Chak rule.[308] Silver and copper coins were, of course, minted in Kashmir. In addition to these coins, cowrie shells were also used as medium of exchange[309] but it devalued with the passage of time. Barter system continued, uninterrupted, a main source of exchange among the poor community, throughout the Muslim rule.

Weights and Measures

The weights current in Kashmir during the whole medieval period as mentioned in Gladwin's *Ain-i-Akbari* are as under[310] :

1 tola=16 mashas 6 ratis, or 96 ratis
1 gold muhur–16 dams of 6 ratis each, 96 ratis
or 4 ratis more than the Delhi gold Muhur.

Rabsasnu is a small coin of 9 mashas or 54 ratis. Punchi is a copper coin in value 1/4 dam, also called Kussarah (Kasiras?).

Bahagain is ½ the Punchi or 1/8 dam
Shukri (or Shakri 2) is ¼ bahagain
4 Punchis or Kussarahs=1 hath
40 Punchis or Kussarahs=1 Sasnu and 1½ sasnu=1
100 Sasnu=1 10cc=100 royal dams.

According to Abul Fazl seven and a half pals in Kashmir were considered equivalent to one ser, two sers equal to a man (maund), and for sers to a trak, sixteen traks to one Kharwar (or ass load), abbreviated as Khar. A trak, according to the royal weights of Akbar, was equal to eight sers. The actual ser was not above one pound avoirdupois. A horse load equalled 22 traks.[311]

The measure are as follows :

1 Girah=2¼ inches
16 girahs=1 gaz
20 girahs=1 gaz [in measuring Pashmina (shawl) cloth]

Famines

Kashmir has been subjected to as many as nineteen great famines, said Lawrence. Gruesome account of these famines is found in the local chronicles and travellers itinerary. One major reason of these famines was the failure of autumn harvest (paddy) owing to early snowfall or heavy rains. A severe famine in Kashmir is recorded in the time of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin which was successfully met by the Great Sultan.[312] Under the Chak, a similar famine occurred is the time of Ali Shah Chak. The reason was natural; the failure of crops due to an early snowfall and fire which gutted in some parts of Srinagar.[313] The king distributed amongst the famine stricken, contents of granaries. But the unfortunate king was not destined to see his subjects completely relieved from natural hoodoo and died playing polo.[314]

Obviously, it was beyond the resources of human-being to stop much natural calamities, however, the protective measures were there. The Chak kings did not lag behind in comforting their subject in distress.

REFERENCES

1. Sultan Sikandar and Sultan Ali Shah were the most intolerant rulers of medieval Kashmir. See for details Mohibbul Hasan, pp. 67 sqq.
2. Dr. Zutshi (*Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin*), p. 174.
3. S.C. Ray, pp. 84 sqq.
4. Suka, p. 393.
5. Ibid.
6. H.M., f. 151b.
7. Ibid.
8. Suka, p. 420.
9. Srivara, I, St. 153, VII, St. 186.
10. *R.T.*, VI, pp. 182, 192. Svapakas of Kashmir can be called Badhatou. of a particular community in Northern India who are actually dog eater (Alberuni, I, p. 102).
11. Ibid., H.M., f. 135a.
12. For details see Chapter 2, content '*Invasion of Qara Bahadur*'.
13. R.T. IV. 516, VII, p. 309.

14. Alberuni, I, p. 102.
15. Srivara, I. V, St. 58.
16. *A.N.*, III, pp. 762-63; *T.R.*, p. 436.
17. *T.R.*, p. 436.
18. Mohibbul Hasan writes differently that the Chaks did not raise to prominence any other family except their own (p. 278) which is not correct.
19. See Chapter 1.
20. *B.S.*, pp. 51-52; Zutshi, p. 179.
21. See Chapter 3, content "Rise and Fall of Sayyid Mubarak."
22. *R.T.*, II, VIII, 6.7.
23. Barani (Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi), pp. 145-224: Badauni (Banking), I, pp. 232-36. The Muslim nobles of Delhi who used this title were Malik Kafur, Malik Jaisi, Alau-ud-Din Khalji, before he became Sultan. Sultan Balban placed his infantry and cavalry, under the command of an experienced Malik, see Elliot and Dowson, (*History of India*), II, p. 100.
24. Firishta, p. 454; Rodgers (JASB, 1885), p. 99.
25. *Rajatarangini* (Kalhana), II, p. 1171; Lawrence, p. 306.
26. Rinchana, a Ladakhi who became the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir under the title of Sultan Sadr-ud-Din (1320-23). See Mohibbul Hasan, p. 39.
27. Hasan, (MS, I), p. 417.
28. *B.S.*, f. 86a; Newall, (J.A.S.B., 1854), p. 418.
29. Dr. Parmu, p. 437.
30. Kalhana, (a tr. Stein, II, p. 430).
31. Stein, II, p. 430.
32. See for details Chapter 2nd, content, "Religious Controversy" under Husain Shah.
33. Dr. Parmu, p. 437.
34. See Chapter 1, content 'Origin of the Chaks'.
35. Suka, p. 360.
36. Dr. Zutshi, p. 180.
37. *A.A.*, p. 676, n. 3; H.M., ff. 158a-b; *B.S.*, f. 176b.
38. *A.A.*, p. 676, n. 3.
39. Ibid., H.M., ff. 159 a-b.
40. H.M., f. 136a. Ghazi Shah Chak married the daughter of a noble Ali Raina to his son, while King Ali Chak gave out his own daughter in marriage to the son of his Wazir Sayyid Mubarak (H.M., ff. 131-32; *B.S.*, 133b).
41. *B.S.*, f. 123a.
42. *B.S.*, f. 123a; H.M., f. 136, f. 138 a-b and *B.S.*, f. 127b.
43. *B.S.*, f. 133b.
44. *B.S.*, f. 142b, ff. 163a-b, f. 173b, f. 178a, f. 182a.
45. *B.S.*, f. 133b, f. 143a; H.M., f. 144b.
46. K.M. Ashraf, p. 84.

47. See Chapter 4.
48. There is no reference in the local Persian sources to the term 'Iqta' or 'tayyuls', used for jagir, which were frequently used in the time of the Delhi Sultans (Athar Ali, p. 74).
49. *B S.*, f. 166b; Firishta, p. 516; *Tabaqat.*, III. p. 743.
50. H.M. f. 137a; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 741.
51. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 741.
52. H.M., f. 137a.
53. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 757.
54. Ibid., pp. 741, 743.
55. Athar Ali, p. 75.
56. H.M., f. 137a.
57. H.M., f. 137a; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 741.
58. Ibid.
59. Dr. Zutshi, p. 176.
60 S.C. Ray, p. 95.
61. Stein, *R.T.*, I. VII, 601 n.
62. Ibid., *B.S.*, pp. 31-32.
63. For details see Chapter 2, content "Yusuf Aindar's Execution".
64. Ibid.
65. *B S.*, pp. 31-32.
66 *B S.*. f 133b.
67. *B S.* , f 123a.
68. *B S* , f. 133b. For details, see Chapter 4, content 'Rise and fall of Sayyid Mubarak'. The other class of Sayyids was called Alavi Sayyids
69. *B S.*, pp. 31-32.
70. Lawrence, p. 291.
71. *B.S* . f. 203 b. For the details of Biswak see "Appendix B".
72. Ibid , f. 178 b.
73. H.M., f. 158 a-b; *B. S.*, f. 189 b; *A.N.*, III, p. 796.
74. *B S.*, f. 168 b.
75. *A N* . III, p. 787.
76. See Chapter 2, content "Famine and its consequences".
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid., One Kharwar was equal to three maunds and eight seers of Akbar's time. (Tuzuk, II, p. 143)
79. Ibid.
80 H.M.. ff. 137a-138a; Firishta, p. 515; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 741.
81 *A.A.*, p 90.
82. For details see Qaiyum Rafiqi (*Sufism in Kashmir*); *Ency. of Islam*; *Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 608-22; Subhan (*Sufism, its Saints and Shrines*), p. 1 sqq.
83. Subhan (Sufism, its Saints and Shrines), p. 1 sqq., *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 608 sqq.

84. Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, Mulla Mufti, Baba Daud Khaki of the Chaks time belonged to Suhrawardiya silsilah (Subhan, Appendix A).
85. Sayyid Ali Hamadani and his son Muhammad Hamadani, who came to Kashmir in the time of Sultan Qutub-ud-Din (1373-89) and Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413) respectively were attached to the Kubraviya order (Journal Asiatique, CCXL), pp. 55-59. Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi a renowned Literary Sufi of the Chak's time was attached to this order.
86. Qadriya order originally founded by a celebrated saint of Baghdad named Shaikh Abdul Qadar Jilani (1078-1165) and was introduced into Kashmir in the second half of the sixteenth century (during the Chak rule 1556-1586) by Sayyid Nimatullah Shah Qadir (Qaiyum Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir*, p. 130).
87. It was popularized mainly by Khawaja Baha-ud-Din Muhammad Naqshband (1317-1389). In Kashmir Naqshbandiya order was introduced by Sayyid Hilal, who arrived in the reign of Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413) see Qaiyum Rafiqi, p. 125. Mulla Husain was a celebrated Sufi of Naqshbandiya order during the Chaks time and after (Subhan, Appendix A).
88. No evidence is forthcoming which enables us to make a statement about the introduction of Chishtiya silsilah (order) in Kashmir.
89. See infra, p. 285 for details of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi.
90. Qaiyum Rafiqi (*Sufism in Kashmir*), p. 136.
91. Ibid.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid. Jahangir writes that there is a body faqirs, whom the Kashmiri calls Rishi (*Tuzuk*, II, p. 149). Nizam-ud-Din says that in Kashmir Sherkot was the abode of Rishis. These Rishis are themselves agriculturalists, engage themselves either in sowing grains or planting fruit trees. They live in society themselves and do not marry (*Tabaqat*., II, p. 736). See also Firishta, p. 508.
94. Nasib-ud-Din (*Nur Nama*), f. 192 b.
95. Ibid. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 225.
96. Lawrence, p. 292, Sufi, II, p. 112; Mohibbul Hasan, p. 225. According to a modern historian, Qaiyum Rafiqi, the Sufis belonging to different orders were an inveterate enemy of the Shias and are believed to have converted many Shias to the Sunni sect during the Chak rule (Sufism in Kashmir, pp. 16, 221).
97. Mulla Feroz Mufti was executed in the time of Husain Shah Chak for issuing a decree. See for details Chapter 2, content 'Religious Controversy'.
98. Shaikh Nauroz Rishi died in 1578 in Kashmir (Subhan, Appendix A).
99. See supra, pp. 240-41 for Baba Daud Khaki.
100. Baba Rafi Rishi died in 1615 in Kashmir (Subhan, Appendix A).

101. Sayyid Jalal-ud-Din died in 1612 in Kashmir (Subhan, Appendix A).
102. See supra p. 242 for Baba Nasib-ud-Din.
103. Subhan, Appendix A. See for details Qaiyum Rafiqi (*Sufism in Kashmir*), p. 125.
104. Qaiyum Rafiqi (*Sufism in Kashmir*), p. 130.
105. Ibid., p. 114.
106. See supra, p. 241, for Habibullah Hubbi.
107. Subhan, Appendix A.
108. Ibid.
109. *Hilyatu-l-Arifin* by Khawaja Isaq Qari (disciple of Shaikh Hamza) is a biography of Shaikh Hamza Makdhum. The work is mostly concerned with the miracles performed by the Shaikh.
Tazkritu-l-Arifin, is another biography of Shaik ı Hamza completed in 1587 by Mulla Ali Raina.
110. Sufi, I, pp. 112-14.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid.
113. Ibid. According to a modern historian, Shaikh Hamza waged an incessant battle against the Shias and is said to have converted many Shias to to the sunni faith. His hostility against the Shias aroused the enmity of Ghazi Shah (Qaiyum Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir*, p. 23).
114. Lawrence, p. 292; Sufi, I, p. 114.
115. Sufi., I, p. 114; Qaiyum Rafiqi (*Sufism in Kashmir*), p. 21, sqq.
116. Newall (J.A.S.B., 1870); Lawrence, p. 292.
117. Shaikh Shihabuddin carted all his important books from Baghdad to Mecca and there, in precincts of the holy temple, he composed his famous '*Awariful Maarif*' (Politics and Society during the early Medieval Period) I, p. 288.
118. Rafiqi, p. 23. Sufi, I, pp. 112-13; Mohibbul Hasan, p. 235.
119. Ishaq, Hilayatu-l-Arifin; f. 12a.
120. Ibid., Mohibbul Hasan, p. 225.
121. Sufi, I, p. 113.
122. Lawrence, p. 289.
123. Sufi, I, pp. 112-14; Qaiyum Rafiqi (*Sufism in Kashmir*), p. 24.
124. Sufi, I, pp. 113-14.
125. Ibid.
126. *A.N.*, III, p. 774.
127. Hasan (MS. I), pp. 458-59; Sufi, I, p. 226.
128. See Chapter 3 (Ali Shah), content "Famine and its Consequences".
129. Hasan, (MS-I), p. 226 f.n.
130. *A.N.*, III, p. 774.
131. For Habba Khatun see pp. 207-8.
132. J.L. Koul, p. 190.

133. The organisation of Khanqah in Kashmir was the same as in other Muslim countries.
134. At Zadibal Khanqah, the followers lived with their families, and were supported by the income of endowments. *Tuhfat-ul-Ahbab*, p. 242, sqq.).
135. *Tuhfat-ul-Ahbab*, p. 242 sqq., Mohibbul Hasan, p. 223.
136. Ibid., St. 95.
137. See Chapter 1st. for details of the Chaks Settlement in Kashmir.
138. *B.S.*, ff. 73a-74b.
139. Srivara, I, V, St. 99.
140. Sayyid Ali, f. 15a.
141. H M., f. 151b; Hasan, p. 262.
142. *T.R.*, p. 434.
143. Zutshi (*Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir*), pp. 180-81.
144 Forster, II, pp. 20-22.
145. Ibid , A.S. Nakshabandi (J.R.A.S., of Great Britain and Ireland, 1850), p. 371.
146. The word Khawaja is associated with the name of all those people who were traders.
147. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 226.
148. *B S* , f. 126b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 392.
149. H.M., f. 150a; *B S.*, f. 164b; Azam, p. 164.
150. H.M., f. 151a; *B.S.*, f. 172 b.
151. Ibid.
152. Forster, II, pp. 20-22.
153. *A.A.*, p. 90.
154. *B.S* , f. 19a; Mohibbul Hasan, p. 251.
155. Ibid.
156. *B S.*, f. 142b; H.M., f. 151 b; Rafi-ud-Din, p. 96.
157. H.M., f. 135a; Srivara pp. 192-274.
158. Srivara, pp. Ibid.
159. Temple, *World of Lalla*, pp. 207-8.
160. *A.N.*, III, p. 752.
161. Ibid.
162. Forster, II, pp. 20-24.
163. Habba Khatun in one of her verse describes that 'Mulla beat me with the stick for my negligence.' (Muntakhab Kashmiri Manzoomat), verse No. 3, p. 38.
164. G.L. Koul, see content 'Habba Khatun'.
165. Ibid.
166. Hugel, p. 140; Forster, II, pp. 18-22.
167. Nasib, f. 42a.
168. *B.S.*, ff. 132b, 139b.
169. Srivara, p. 265; Forster, II. 18-22.
170. Srivara, p. 234.
171. Forster, II, p. 220.

172. Srivara, pp. 234, 207, 214.
173 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, p. 148. Abul Fazl write that 'the apparel of the masses was generally a woollen coat (Phiran or Phairan) which would last several years'. (*A.A.*, *Jasset*, II, p. 350). Similarly, Jahangir found the same dress common among the masses.
174. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, p. 148.
175. Ibid.
176. See, Pelsaert, p. 35. (Remonstrantie for dress of Kashmiri women).
177. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, p. 148.
178. Failure of paddy crops led to famine in the time of Ali Shah Chak H.M., ff. 141a-b.
179. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, p. 148; *A.A.*, p. II, p. 353.
180. *Tuhfat-ul-Ahbad*, pp. 109, 130.
181. R.S. Pandit (*Rajatarangini*), Content, Saffron, n. 39-42.
182. *A.A.*, II, p. 353.
183. Srivara, p. 276.
184. Forster, II, pp. 18-24, p. 353.
185. *A.N.*, III, p. 831.
186. ICHR (1949), p. 134.
187. Stein, B.K., VII, No. 149.
188. Ishaq (Hilyatu-l-Arifin), ff. 656-66a, also see, *Tazkirat-ul-Mulla Ali Raina*, f. 534 a.
189. Srivara, p. 536.
190. Ibid.
191. *T.R.*, p. 415.
192. *A.A.*, p. 523.
193. Isaq, (Hilyatu-l-Arifin), f. 2b. Ali Dar, the wazir of Yaqub Shah Chak was a confirmed drunkard and as a result neglected state duties (*B.S.*, f. 178b) Saint Shaikh Hamza also hit a drunkard with his stick who died on spot, Isaq, f. ibid.
194. Suka, p. 338.
195. H.M., f. 142b; *A.A.*, p. 534.
196. Hashmatullah, pp. 151-52; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 741.
197. H.M., ff. 136a-b; Hasan, p 238.
198. Temple, World of Lalla, p. 208.
199. H.M., f. 144b.
200. Suka, p. 393; H.M., f. 136a-b; Hasan, p. 238.
201. *Tuzuk-I-Jahangiri*, II, p. 144. See also Forster, II, p. 10.
202. De-Fillipi, Travels of Desideri, p. 351.
203. Pelsaert Remonstrantie, p. 34.
204. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ii, p. 144; Bernier (Travels), pp. 397-98.
205. *B.S.*, f. 164a.
206. Moorcroft, II, pp. 127-28.
207. Forster, II, p. 10.

208. Suka, p. 393.
209. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, II, pp. 167-68.
210. Ibid.
211. Hashmatullah, pp. 151-52; *Tabaqat.*, III, 741. The marriage among the Hindus and Muslims may have been common in the outer hill states of Rajauri, Poonch and Kishtwar. (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, p. 188).
212. Hashmatullah, pp. 151-52.
213. *B.S.*, f. 103b.
214. Suka refers about Husain Chak's participation and distribution of gifts among his Hindu brethren on their festive days of Naverah (New Year's Day) and Basant Panchmi (p. 393).
215. H.M., f. 151b.
216. *A A.*, p. 90.
217. H.M , f. 144b; Suka, p. 395.
218. *Tuzuk*, II, p. 143.
219. Ibid.. *A.A.*, p. 346.
219a Srivara, p. 276.
220. *A.N.*, III, p. 831.
221. *A.A.*, Ibid.
222. *Tuzuk.*, II, p. 143-46; T.R., p. 425.
223. Dr. Parmu speaks of the strict restrictions on fruits under the Chaks, and says that Ghazi Shah cut the hands of a seven year boy for stealing fruit (p. 468). In fact, Ghazi Shah was a strict observer of discipline and the order issued was to discourage theft. Mirza Haidar writes about the abundance of Kashmir fruits that, 'pears, mulberries, cherries, and sour cherries are met with, but apple are particularly good'. There are other fruits in plenty, sufficient to make one break ones resolution. Among the wonder of Kashmir are the quantities of mulberry trees (cultivated) for their leaves from which silk is obtained. In season, fruit is so plentiful that it is rarely bought and sold. The holders of garden and the man that has no garden are alike, for the garden has no wall and it is not usual to hinder anyone from taking the fruit (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Fruits of Kabul, p. 425). Emperor Akbar and Jahangir introduced certain in Kashmir after annexing the kingdom (*A.A.*, pp. 83-84).
224. *A.A.*, p. 90.
225. *T.R.*, pp. 424-25.
226. Ibid.
227. *A.A.*, I., p. 346; *Tuzuk.*, II, p. 143.
228. Dr. Zutshi, p. 126.
229. *A.A.*, p. 90.
230. Ibid., *Tuzuk.*, II, p. 143.
231. *A.A.*, p. 90; *Tuzuk.*, II, p. 143.
232. *Tuzuk.*, II, p. 143; *A.A.*, p. 90.
233. Tuzuk, II, p. 143.

234. Ibid. Jahangir writes in his Memoirs that, it is not the custom to use gold and silver for payment of revenue (in Kashmir) from land, they reckon the value of the things in Kharwar of rice, each Kharwar being three maunds and eight seers of the current weight (Tuzuk, II, p. 143).
235. *A.A.*, p. 346.
236. Ibid.
237. *Hindu Political*, p. 330.
238. *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 19.
239. Dr. Zutshi, p. 126.
240. *B.S.*, ff. 178a-b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 757.
Under the Delhi Sultans the term was also called Khalisa-i-Sharifa, Athar Ali, p. 74.
241. Yusuf Shah Chak after his restoration to powers divided his kingdom into three good jagirs for his son Yaqub Chak, Shams Chak and Yusuf Kashmiri, the two important nobles, and declared rest as Khalisa. (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 757; Rodgers, p. 137).
242. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 208, Moreland (The Agrarian System of Moslem India), p. 29.
243. Saffron is known as 'Za-fran' in Arabic and 'Kunkuna' in Sanskrit. In certain areas of Kashmir it is also called 'Kasmiraja'. From Kunkuna is derived the word Kunkuna used for the mark on the forehead by the woman of Deccan. It is a product manufactured from the dried stigmas and part of the style of the saffron crocus which is cultivated form of Crocus Sativas. The purple flower which blossoms in autumn is very similar to that of the common spring crocus and the stigmas which protrude from the perianth are of orange red colour.

In early Greek times it was a royal colour and in Kashmir, its native land, it was the privilege of royalty to use it as a scented Salva or emollient. As a perfume, it was strewn in Greek Halls, courts and theatres and in the Roman baths. The streets of Rome were sprinkled with saffron, when Nero made his entry into the city. It was used as an ingredient in Greek medicine and Cinsine and it continues to be so used in Kashmir. It is still mixed with rice by the Kashmiris, the Persians and the people of Spain where the Arab conquerors first introduced its cultivation in 961 A.D. It is interesting to note that saffron was cultivated in England until the 18th century in a valley about 71 Km. (44 miles) from London where the little town of Walden, whose characteristic industry was the culture of saffron, is still known as saffron Walden. It is said that saffron was brought to England by a pilgrim from Tripoli, who hid a stolen corn in the hollow of his staff. See for further details R.S. Pandita (*Rajatarangini*), p. II, n. 39-42.
244. *A.A.*, p. 90.

245. One Kashmiri trak=8 seers (of Akbar's time)=4 Kash. mans (maund), 1 Kash. man=4 Kash sers=7-1/2 palas.
See *A.A.*, p. 90. According to Stein one pala is equivalent to four tolas (see II, p. 318).
246. *A.A.*, p. 90.
247. Ibid.
248. Ibid.
249. Ibid. The Chak kings were tributary to Emperor Akbar.
250. See chapter 2, content 'Ali Shah' Conquest of Kishtwar.
251. H.M., f. 113b (Mohibbul Hasan, p. 215).
252. Ibid.
253. H.M., f. 151b.
254. Suka, p. 420. The 'pana' has been identified by Stein, as a coin equivalent to Kankins. He writes that perhaps the term, which according to the lexicographers signifies a coin equivalent to 4 Kankins, is here used for the puntshu or Kasiri, 4 panas would thus make a Sasun (Stein, II, p. 312).
2 Bahgan=1 Puntshu or twenty-five
4 Puntshu= 1 Hath or one hundred
10 Hath =1 Sasun, one thousand and
100 Sasun =10 lakh. See for details, pp. 224 infra).
255. Suka, p. 420-21.
256. Holy Quran, pp. 681, n. 713.
257. H.M., ff. 182 b.
258. H.M., ff. 136 a-b; 141 b.
259. J.A.S.B., XIV, pp. 385-86.
260. The incharge of the passes were called Nayaks.
261. *Baj* had been collected under Sultan Shihab-ud-Din, 1354-73 (*B.S.*, f. 19a). Tamgha was demanded in excess of the land revenue. Baj was simply a tax or toll. Tamgha seems to have been introduced into Kashmir from Persia or Turkistan. Baj and Tamgha were levied on cows, goats, silk cloths etc. *A.A.* (Jerret), II, p. 367; Wilson, Glossary, II. 5 sqq.
262. Ibid.
263. Ibid.
264. *A.A.*, p. 90.
265. H.M., f. 182, *B.S.*, f. 19a; *N. Akb.*, p. 96.
266. *Tuzuk*, II, p. 143.
267. H.M., f. 130 b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 741; Firishta, p. 515.
268. For details see Chapter 2—content, 'Conquest of Kishtwar'.
269. H.M., f. 130 b; Hasan, pp. 223-24.
270. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 741; Birbal, ff. 860-b.
271. Jacquemont, Letter from India, A Journey, II, p. 172
272. *T.R.*, p. 425.
273. According to Abul Fazl, most of the selling and buying was still carried on by then (Kashmiris) in their own houses (*A.A.*,

II, p. 353).

274. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 436.
275. *Tuzuk*, II, p. 147.
276. H.M., f. 141b; Suka, p. 395; Firishta, p. 523.
277. S.C. Ray, p. 110; *R.T.*, VIII, p. 364
278. Ibid.
279. Sharaf-ud-Din, II, 'Zafarnama', p. 179.
280. The Mughal annexed Kashmir in 1586 through Pirpanjal route.
281. During the early 14th century a Bhuta namely Richan, (the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir), entered the valley through this route.
282. J.R.A.S., XII (1850), p. 373.
283. Stein, I.P. Moorcroft, Travels in Kashmir, I, p. 346.
284. J.R.A.S., (1843), pp. 306 sqq.
285. Bernier, Travels, pp. 425-26.
286. S.C. Ray, p. III (P.C. Bagchi, India and China, pp. 68-74).
287. Ibid.
288. Ibid.
289. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 245.
290. *Tuzuk.*, p. 147; Lawrence, p. 393; *Asrar-ul-Abrar*, ff. 122a.
291. Markhan, Mission of Bogel to Tibet, LIV, pp. 127-28.
292. *Tuzuk*, II, pp. 132-160.
293. Ibid., Jonaraja, p. 66., J.A.S.B., XIV, pp. 385-86.
294. *R.I.*, VIII, p. 2010.
295. *Tuzuk.*, II, p. 147.
296. Srivara, p. 327.
297. J.R.A.S., VII (1843), pp. 283 sqq.; Forster, II, pp. 18-22; Kashmir and its Shawl, pp. 33-36.
298. Markhan, Mission of Bogle to Tibet, p. 121.
299. Jonoraja, p. 18.
300. J.R.A.S. (1850), p. 377.
301. Forster, II, pp. 18-22, *A.A.*, II, p. 353.
302. Ibid.
303. Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 65.
304. *Tuzuk*, II, p. 148.
305. Bernier, Travels, pp. 425-26. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 247.
306. *A.A.*, II, p. 353.
307. S.C. Ray, pp. 116-21.
308. See, Rodgers, 'Silver square coins of the Sultans of Kashmir 1885.'
309. *R.T.*, VIII, p. 96.
310. *A.A.*, II, p. 156; *A.A.* (Jarret), p. 354.
311. *A.A.* (Jarret), II, p. 366.
312. Sufi, II, p. 353.
313. Suka, p. 395; H.M., ff. 142a-b.
314. H.M., ff. 142 a-b; *A.A.*, 534. Xavier also give gruesome account of famine in his Travels. He came to Kashmir in 1589.

8

Cultural Efflorescence

The cultural development which Kashmir witnessed during Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin's (1420-70 A.D.) reign definitely represents one of the most glorious aspects of Kashmir history. But with his death, the high standard of culture in Kashmir also began to decline due to the succession of incompetent rulers. Political disorder gave momentum to internecine conflicts, mutual rivalries, and quick succession of kings. Instead of paying attention to the development of various aspects of culture, the kings, nobles and princes were competing for political power.[1] It may not be amiss to say that the period from 1470 to 1554 A.D., till the Chaks came to power, was a dark period in the history of Kashmir.

The Chaks gave a new lease of life to Kashmir in many respects. They reorganised the government and contributed elements of political stability to it. In the sphere of culture, they emulated Zain-ul-Abidin. The Chak kings were not only patrons of learning and literature, music and dance, but some of them were themselves poets and musicians. Their courts were the rendezvous of celebrated scholars, painters, musicians, dancers, calligraphists and artisans, many of whom came from different parts of India and the Islamic world. Their capital Srinagar was embellished with fine palaces, mosques, monasteries and gardens.

Unfortunately, their rule lasted only for thirty-two years,

yet the skill and the talents which they displayed in so short a time bear testimony to their high sense of refinement.

Literature

As in other spheres, so in the field of literature the Chak kings extended their generous patronage and adorned the courts with a large number of scholars and men of letters. They pursued an enlightened language policy and did much to encourage Persian, Sanskrit and Kashmiri without any discrimination.

Persian

With the establishment of religious and cultural ties with Persia and Central Asia in the beginning of the 14th century, the Persian language spread in Kashmir. The Sanskrit as the court language of the Hindu rulers was replaced by Persian first, in the reign of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din (1335-73 A.D.). Thereafter, it became the language of educated classes and even found its way into the villages.[2]

The Persian underwent considerable development under Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. He made it the state language and it continued be so throughout the Muslim rule.[3] No doubt, under his weak successors, owing to civil wars, learing declined, but there was again a revival under the rule of the Chaks, Suka speaks of Ghazi Shah as one "versed in literature".[4] King Husain Shah Chak and Yusuf Shah Chak were the most cultured kings of the Chak house and had obtained high level of excellence in versification. A large number of famous Persian scholars flourished in the time of the Chaks and received liberal patronage of the kings. Many of these scholars flocked to the royal court from various centres of Persian culture in and outside India.

Baba Talib Ishfani, a scholar of great repute came to the court of Ghazi Shah and remained in service of the Chaks for about thirty years.[5] In showing regard to learned men, Ghazi Shah was indeed generous. He even spared the life of his enemy Rafiz Mirza Husain only because of his talents as a

learned man and musician of the court of Emperor Akbar.[6]

Mir Ali, a famous poet and calligraphist came to Kashmir in the time of king Husain Shah and wrote a long poem in praise of Kashmir.[7] Himself a man of refined taste, Husain Shah loved the company of poets and learned men and had fixed a day of every week for discussions with scholars.[8] Mulla Bag, Mulla Najmi I and Mullah Najmi II were the poets attached to Husain Shah's court.[9]

King Ali Shah was more fortunate in having the association of famous poets and scholars like Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi,[10] Baba Daud Khaki,[11] Ahmed Kashmiri[12] and Mazhari.[13] He spent a day in a week with the learned men and Sufis.[14] Muhammad Amin Mustaghni, a talented Kashmiri poet, was a courtier of Ali Shah.[15] Another poet connected with his court was Mirza Ali Khan, who was killed fighting against the Mughal general Raja Bhagwan Das.[16] King Yusuf Chak was himself well versed in Persian, Hindi and Kashmiri.[17] Thus, the overall development of Persian literature was one of the greatest achievements of the Chaks.

Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi,[18] son of Shaikh Hasan Ganai of Asimi clan,[19] was a man of great celebrity for his learning, scholarship and piety. Born in 1528 A.D.,[20] he received his early education in Kashmir under Mulla Ami,[21] who made a prophecy that Yaqub would in course of time attain great literary eminence and be called the second Jami (the great Mulla Abdur Rehman of Jam, a district in Herat).[22] Mulla Bashir Khan Khanda-bhavani was his second teacher. While a child of seven years, Sarfi committed the whole Quran to memory and also began to versify at the same age.[23] Sarfi was fortunate enough to receive his further education abroad, in Lahore, Sialkot, Kabul, Samarqand, Mashhed, Mecca, Medina etc., under renowned teachers and gained an international reputation for his literary talents.[24] At Mecca, Sarfi was educated by Shaikh Ibn Hajar Makki, the great teacher of Haidth, and after completing his education under the famous Shaikh, Sarfi received from him the necessary 'ijazah,' or licence to give instructions on the traditions of the prophet.[25] Spiritually, Sarfi was the disciple of the great master Shaikh Hasani of Khwaraizm, in Turkistan,[26] who authorised him to be a religious teacher and

spiritual guide and, as such, Sarfi came to have numerous disciples under him in Kashmir and elsewhere in Hindustan.[27]

In the Hindustan, Sarfi was closely associated with the Mughal court since the time of Emperor Humayun. Badauni, a close friend of the Sarfi, writes about the great regard for the latter at the Mughal court in these words that, "both the late Emperor, Humayun and his present majesty (Emperor Akbar) had a great belief in him, and conferred distinction on him to the honour of their society. They regarded him with gracious favour and held him in high esteem and was much honoured. His generosity and open handedness were unique at that time.[28] Sarfi wrote a number of letters to Budauni, both from Lahore and Kashmir and the last letter which Sarfi wrote to Badauni was from his native place Srinagar.[29]

At Kashmir, Sarfi was mortified to find domestic squabbles ripe in the politics, owing to internecine conflicts among various factions. Pre-eminent, as was Sarfi's place in the realm of letters, he even marked his considerable importance in the Kashmir politics when he deccided to free Kashmir from the turmoil. The crisis in Kashmir politics accelerated with the rise of Yaqub Shah Chak to power. His vexatious policy was bound to create ill-feelings among his subjects, particularly among the Sunni community. Consequently, Yaqub Sarfi, with some Kashmiri nobles including Haider Chak went over to the Mughal court and invited Emperor Akbar to annex the Kashmir under an agreement.[30] When the Mughal forces marched on Kashmir, Sarfi acted as their guide and even took arms against the defenders of Kashmiri kingdom.[31] The result was the transfer of Kashmir to the Mughals. Yaqub Sarfi was not solely responsible for the loss of kindom of Kashmir, there were other factors also but, Sarfi sheered his responsibility.

Sarfi died in Kashmir, eight years after the commencement of the Mughal rule, on Thursday, the 12th Ziqada, in the year 1003 A.H./July 25, 1594, at the age of 66 years and is burried in Mazar of Shaikh Baha-ud-Din Ganj Baksh in Srinagar.[32] Sarfi was a Sufi of Kubraviya Silsilah.[33]

Sarfi was married at the age of 25 and a son named Muhammad Yusuf was born but he died in early youth.[34]

His Works

Yaqub Sarfi was the author of several works known for their sublimity and elegance. He completed the 'Khamsa' of Mulla Abdur Rahman Jami his teacher's teacher, and wrote many treatise on the act of composing enigmas and also quatrains on mysticism of the Sufis with a commentary.[35] His Khamsa comprised Mashak-ul-Akhyan, Waqim-u-Azra, Layla Manju, Maqam-ul-Murshid and Maghaz-un-Nabi (a history in verses describing the struggle of Prophet Muhammad).[36] Badauni writes that "his works indeed are too numerous to be recapitulated. He was illustrious and much relied upon as an authority on all the branches of learning, which are treated of in Arabic, such as Quranic commentaries, the tradition of Muhammad and Sufi-ism and was an authorised religious leader."[37] Abul Fazl considers him, "the greatest authority on religious matters."[38] A short time before his death, he had nearly completed a large commentary on the Holy Quran in Kashmir, which was one of the most remarkable creations of his genius [39].

Besides these works Shaikh Yaqub wrote an Arabic Taqriz or the introduction of Faizis' Tafsir entitled *Sawat-ul-Ilhami*. He also wrote a commentary in prose of Ali Salih of Bukhari (809-869), *Manasikul-Hajj*, in Arabic prose, explaining in it rules and regulations of the pilgrimages, *Rasala-i-Zikriya*, most of this work is devoted to the importance of Zikr and to the legality of Zikrijahr, and *Diwan*, which is a collection of rubayat and Ghazals.[40]

Baba Daud Khaki, son of a noted scribe Shaikh Hasan Ganai[41] was born in 1521 A.D. He received his early education under Mulla Bashir, Khandab Lawni, and Alama Riyaz-ud-Din. Later on, he himself served as tutor of Sultan Nazuk Shah's son. But soon he left this assignment and became a disciple of the celebrated Sufi, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum of Suhrawardiya silsilah. He spent the major portion of his time in writing didactic books on Islamic learning and literature.[42] Under the Chaks it seems that he was the one among the well-wishers of Ali Shah's son and grandson Yusuf Shah and Yaqub Shah, and had high regards for Ali Shah.[43] He

passed away at Anantnag in 1585,[44] and was buried in the enclosure of Baba Rishi. Some years later, his remains were brought to the Ziarat of Shaikh Makhdum Sahib, his spiritual guide in Srinagar.

His Works

Baba Daud was a learned Sufi and his poetry is permeated with mystic and religious ideas. He compiled numerous books in the time of the Chaks. He was the author of *Dastur-us-Salikin, Majama-ul-Qawaid, Fasida-i-Zaruriyya, Vird-ul-Maridan, Qasidia-i-Jalaliya, Qasida-i-Lamiyya* and *Qasida-i-Gusliyya.*[45]

The two books, *Qasida-i-Lamiyya* and *Qasida-i-Gusliyya* were composed in the time of Ali Shah Chak and Yusuf Shah Chak. In the first book, he has praised Ali Shah for his nobility and righteousness. The second contains some traits of King Yusuf Shah's character and important events of his reign. Baba Daud also composed an ode at the death of King Ali Shah.[46] His poetry consists of religious and mystical themes. He is also known for his miraculous deeds and spiritual sanctity.[47]

Khawaja Habibullah Hubbi of Naushehra in Srinagar was a poet of high repute. Born in 1551, he died in 1617.[48] Like Baba Daud, he too came of a Ganai family, and his father was a dealer in salt. Hubbi received his early education in Persian and Arabic under Mulla Hasan Afaqi and then he became a student of Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi. He was also a disciple of Mir Muhammad Khalifa and belonged to Kubraviya Silsilah.[49]

Works

The books attributed to him *Taubib-ul-Qulub* and *Raat-ul-Qulub* are treatises on mysticism. Hubbi's Dewan is a specimen of fine poetry written in plain style and short metre. It is replete with idealism displaying originality and freshness of an imaginative mind. He also compiled a biography of his teacher Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi entitled *Maqamat-i-Islam.*[50]

In composing chronograms relating to the Prophets, caliphs

and other notables of Islam, he was a perfect master. He also had a taste in music. But mostly he was found engaged in mysticism.

Najmi : Another learned man of the Chak period was Najmi, a student of Qasim Khaki. In 1580, he left Kashmir for Mavar-un-Nahr (Trans-Oxiana) where he entered the service of Sultan Isfandy-bin Sultan Khusrav bin Yar Muhammad bin Sultan Jani Bag. For his sound knowledge of literature, the Sultan decorated him with a royal robe of honour[51] and made him a Khan of two hundred tankas.

Mazhari was an outstanding poet of the Chak period who passed the major portion of his life outside Kashmir. Like Yaqub Sarfi, he also travelled in many Arabian countries. In Iraq, he enjoyed the company of two important learned men, Muhtashm and Washi. After his return to India, Mazhari was employed by emperor Akbar as Mir Bahr of Kashmir. Since Mazhari was himself a Shia and his father a Sunni, their relations with each other were far from cordial. Mazhari's poems contain several stains on his father.[52] He died in 1018 A.H./1609. A.D. and is buried in the Malkhan graveyard in Srinagar.

Baba Nasib-ud-Din Ghazi : Son of Shaikh Mir Husain Razi, Nasib-ud-Din was also called Abul Faqara. He was born in 1569 at Bijbihara and died in 1637. His scholarly work *Nur Nama*[53] written in Persian relates to the life history of Shaikh Nur-ud-Din popularly known as Nund Rishi in Kashmir. His *Tazikira-i-Mashaikh-Kashmir* is also a work of much historical importance.[54] He was a Sufi of Suhrawardiya silsilah (order).[55]

Mulla Mir Ali : A famous Persian poet and calligraphist of Herat, he came to Kashmir during Hasain Shah's reign.[56] After the fall of the Chak dynasty, he returned to Delhi. He has often been mentioned by Abul Fazl together with Mir Ahmed, son of Khusrau of Delhi, Bairam Khan, Emperor Akbar's Khan-i-Khanan as a master of Dakhl poetry.[57]

Baba Talib Ishfani : Originally from Ishfan, he came to Kashmir in the beginning of the Chak rule and enjoyed the liberal patronage of all the Chak kings for thirty years. Like Mulla Mir Ali, he too migrated to Delhi and joined the

company of learned scholars under Emperor Akbar.[58] Badauni writes that 'his poems are good and breathe fine feelings'.[59]

In Kashmir Baba Talib joined the military service under king Yusuf Shah and, when the Mughal general Bhagwan Das invaded Kashmir, Baba Talib successfully commanded a contingent of the Kashmir force against the enemy.[60]

Haidar Malik (*Tarikh-i-Kashmir*) and the anonymous author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* are the most celebrated Persian historians of the Chak period who have written the history of Kashmir after the fall of the Chaks. Their works are of considerable historical importance, particulary for the Chak history which they were themselves witness.[61]

Sanskrit

Kashmir had been a great seat of Sanskrit learning from ancient times and produced a mass of Sanskrit literature covering various fields—poetry, poetics, grammar, prose, commentaries, history, drama, music, religion and philosophy. It can boast of Kalhana, the poet-chronicler of Kashmir. The *Rajatarangini* is his magnum opus.[62] But with the advent of Muslim rule, the royal patronage ceased and Sanskrit lost its official value. However, it was revived and patronised by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. It was during his period that the two famous Sanskrit scholars, Jonaraja and Srivara, wrote their historical works. The Sanskrit tradition of historical writings was continued during the Chak period too and two Sanskrit scholars, Prajyabhatta and Suka wrote *Rajavalipata* and *Rajatarangini* respectively but none of the two can claim of having received patronage of any of the Chak rulers. By the end of the 16th century, Sankrit gradually lost much of its official value but its private use continued.[63] It is interesting to note that some of the Muslim graves of the 15th and 16th centuries bearing inscriptions both in Sanskrit and in Persian, side by side, are still in existence in Kashmir.[64]

An important result of this bilingual tradition was the transference of many Persian words into Sanskrit and vice versa.[65] The Sanskrit texts contain many Persian words, in

original or in corrupt form, like Shahi, Khawas, Suratrana and Silahdar. Similarly, in the Sanskrit chronicles of Jonaraja, and Srivara of Zain-ul-Abidin's reign, as well as Prajyabhatta and Suka of the Chak period, we find the use of a large number of Arabic, Persian and Turkish words like Khatona (Khatun), Khangagaha (Khanqah), Malika (Malik), majesda or a mesedaha (Masjid), Madrasa,[66] ravara (rabab).[67]

Kashmiri

While the Persian language was adopted as the medium of expression by the Muslim rulers of Kashmir, Kashmiri, the indigenous language continued as before, the mother tongue of a vast majority of the Kashmiris. It did not enjoy the position of a literary medium or official language in the area of its birth. It has all along remained a vernacular, a medium of inter-course among the common people. In Kashmir, it had been considered the work of the unlettered and the village bards to write poetry in mother tongue. That is why, many Kashmiri poetic compositions of the past ages have come down to us by oral tradition and it is often difficult to attribute a poem to a particular author.

However, under the patronage of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, it covered a significant phase of development and was recognised as a medium of instruction in higher studies.[68] During the Chak rule, it entered upon a new stage of literary growth. It was patronized at the courts. Under the liberal patronage of Yusuf Shah Chak, the Kashmiri poetess Habba Khatun, brought about a literary revolution in the sphere of Kashmiri poetry by introducing 'Lols'[69] or love lyrics. Further, on the advice of Sayyid Mubarak, a Sufi, she began to experiment with the Persian metre. While the lyrics of Lal Ded,[70] a famous Kashmiri poetess of the 14th century and her contemporary Nur-ud-Din Rishi are mystical and didactic, Habba Khatun's love lyrics sing of human love, its disappointments, yearnings and fulfilment. They are full of emotion, music, rhythm and melody, and are sung even to this day by artisans, peasants and boatmen.

Habba Khatun

Habba Khatun's maiden name was Zun (i.e. moon), but later she was known by the name of Habba Khatun (lady of love).[71] Unfortunately, the name of Habba Khatun has not been recorded by any contemporary indigenous or foreign writer.[72] The story of her life has come down to us in oral tradition, which is replete with many vain-glorious events and myths, making her almost a legendary figure.

According to a most popular tradition, Habba Khatun was a captivating belle, gifted with many accomplishments and physical charms. She possessed a loving heart and ravishing voice. Born in a noble middle class family of Tsandhar, in the pargana of Vahu, famous for its saffron fields, of Pampur in Kashmir,[73] she was fortunate in having received education from their family Maulavi. In a short time she was able to recite the whole Quran. During her later years, she also acquired proficiency in the Persian language which she spoke fluently. She also completed the basic education of those days comprising Shaikh Sadis' *Kavinama*, *Gulistan* and *Bostan*.[74] Before long, she became known for her learning among the illiterate people of her small village. She became the talk of every body, which in a village was not without disadvantage. Her father Abdullah alias Abdi Rather hurried her into marriage with a typical illiterate villager of his own community. The marriage of a gifted girl with a rustic fellow was a big mistake for her husband could appreciate neither her looks nor her bewitching voice and her life was ruined. Her mother-in-law reprimanded her and her husband remained indifferent to her. They wanted her to rub shoulders with them in the corn fields from morn till eve, which was difficult for a lady of her talents. Out of the ensuing conflict and tension of every day, she ultimately obtained divorce and returned to her father's house.[75] Therefore, she continued to pass a miserable life, tending cattle in the woods and pastures and singing the lyrics she composed extempore. Time, however, assuaged her grief for once, while she was gathering dandelion and cress (local Kashmiri vegetables) and singing all by her self, the men of Yusuf Shah Chak who were passing by that way were

attracted to her ravishing voice. They at once reported to the ruling king Yusuf Shah, who called her in his darbar. The king having never seen such a harmonious combination of good looks and sweet voice was at once overcome by the charms of her personality and she was at once admitted to the company of his court singers. It took no time for the gifted Habba Khatun to distinguish herself in the kingdom and to rise high in esteem of the king.[76]

But she was not destined to walk through the alleys of life undisturbed. Her troubles started again when Yusuf Shah was taken as captive by Bhagwan Das, Emperor Akbar's general, on 26th February 1586.[77] Thereafter, she became a wanderer once again. Yaqub Shah Chak, who succeeded his father, was an orthodox Shia and discouraged music and dance at his court. Habba Khatun, thereafter, withdrew from the palace and settled at Pandu Chak,[78] where she established a school. She died there after rendering a great service to the institution. She lies buried at Pandu Chak.[79]

Habba Khatun's extant Kashmiri songs of love and lamentation are peerless. Tradition has preserved her history, her songs and her Shikayat like her great ancestor Lal Ded. The two were, no doubt, opposite to each other. Lal Ded was a mystic poetess, Habba Khatun a romantic, but both saw the rose of their lives crushed at the hands of the cruel society. That is why Habba Khatun castigates society and gives utterances to these feelings in her songs which are very touching and spontaneous. She introduces us to the social conditions of her times, when all that was loveable and laudable in her sex was being ignored, may carelessly rejected.[80]

Education

Kashmir had been a great seat of learning from very early times. It could boast of a university of the class of Nalanda and Takshila. During the entire medieval period education was encouraged in Kashmir. The kings and nobles vied with each other in opening schools and endowning them with jagirs for their maintenance.[81] Thus, every village was having a school. For the higher education, a university was

founded at Srinagar. Students were also imparted education in monasteries by able teachers.[82]

Some of the Sultans of the Shahmir dynasty had contributed to the educational re-organisation in Kashmir. The schools and colleges, which they established and the new courses introduced remained in operation throughout the Chak period and even after. Sultan Shihab-ud-Din (1355-73 A.D.) it appears, was the first Muslim ruler to have established schools (Madrassas) in different parts of the valley.[82a] In addition, he founded a college in Srinagar called Madrasta-l-Quran for the study of Quran and Hadis. So also were those of his immediate successors Qutb-ud-Din and Sikandar. The programme of educating the people received further impetus under the generous patronage of Zain-ul-Abidin. Of a number of institutions which flourished under his patronage, the University of Naushahr was the most prestigious one. The Sultan also set up colleges at Zaingiri and at Dachanpur near Islamabad (Anantnag).[83]

The educational institutions set up by the Sultans of Shahmir dynasty were re-organised and patronized by the Chak kings. King Husain Shah Chak improved the Darush-Shifa founded by Hasan Shah and, in addition, opened a new college Madrasa Husain Shah, to which he assigned the revenues of Zainpur, in Husain Angan locality, known today as Khawaja-Bazar Mahalla.[84] A library and a free hostel were also added to the college. The villages of Wandhama, Haran, Darind, Birhama and the gardens of Daulatabad, Rainawari and Bagh-i-Anguri, the modern Malkha were set apart for their maintenance.[85] The Principal of this college was a learned man Fathu-Ullah Haqqani and his assistant was Akhund Mulla Darwesh. Shaikh Hamza Mukhdum was a popular student of this college.[86]

Among the Chak kings who contributed most to the spread of education in the valley was Yusuf Shah Chak. Baba Daud writes that the scholar-king set up a number of schools and colleges in Kashmir. Students received good education in those institutions. All these educational institutions were subject to the personal supervision of the kings.[87]

During the Chak regime educational facilities were thrown

open to all without distinctions of caste and creed. We have no reference to their interference in the institutions of Hindu learning. The Islamic courses of study generally included, in medieval times the religious sciences like the study of the Quran, Tafsir (interpretation of the Quran), Hadis (collection and collation of prophet's tradition), Fiqh (Muslim Jurisprudence), Ilm-ul-Kalam and Ilm-ul-Tawhid (Dogma and Theology). Equal attention was paid to the physical education as well, and boys were trained in archery, swordmanship and horsemanship.[88] The heads of the institutions were eminent scholars and students came from different parts of India, Persia, Turkey and Herat to receive education.[89]

In addition to the Persian, Sanskrit and Kashmiri languages, Hindi was also encouraged by king Yusuf Shah.[90] Education was free and hostels were provided for accommodation to the students. Stipends and books were also arranged for the poor students.[91]

The females received education under the Mullas, in cities and sometimes in villages. Besides Arabic, Persian language was also taught to the women. Habba Khatun describes in one of her Kashmiri poems that "My parents sent me to a Mulla for education and the Mulla frequently punished me much for neglecting my studies."[92] But the people being mostly agriculturists, did not take much interest in educating their children, specially the girls. The educated ladies in the villages were not looked with favour. Habba Khatun, for example was looked down upon at her father-in-law's house, where she was forced to work in the fields at the expense of her creative literary talents.[93] Obviously, female education was not much encouraged.

Painting

No doubt, the early Muslim rulers patronized the art of painting and Mulla Jami was a famous painter of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin's time. But, for the later period, there is hardly any evidence. Not a single work of painting has survived owing to devastating cataclysms of civil strife and foreign invasions.[94] However, Abul Fazl refers to a group of five

Kashmiri painters at the court of Emperor Akbar.[95] Tracing the influence of Kashmiri painting over the Mughal school, Percy Brown says, "very delicate effect is said to have been obtained by the Kashmir painters. They allowed water to stand until it had completely evaporated, leaving a slight sediment, which they used as a background tint to profile of a portrait, as it left a faint but charming contrast of tone between the flesh colour and ground."[96] We have also a reference to a set of twenty-four paintings of the Chak period lying in the Victoria and Albert Museum but details are not available.[97]

Calligraphy

The art of calligraphy was carried to a high degree of perfection in Kashmir under the Chaks. Before them, the only calligraphic style called 'Nasq'[98] was in vogue, but a new and more refined style known as 'Nastaliq'[99] came to be cultivated not only in learned works, but also in building as an architectural feature.[100] The new calligraphic style of Nastaliq was introduced into Kashmir by Mir Ali, a famous Persian calligraphist who came to Kashmir in the time of Husain Shah Chak and worked under the generous patronage of all the Chak rulers. After the fall of the Chak dynasty, he joined the service under the Mughal Emperor, Akbar.[101] The most talented Calligraphist who flourished during the Chak period was Mahammad Husain. Like Mir Ali, he too entered the Mughal service and Emperor Akbar was so much impressed by the grace, beauty and symmetry of his composition, that he conferred upon him the title of Zarin-i-qalam (Gold pen).[102] Abul Fazl, in praise of Muhammad Husain, writes that 'in the art of calligraphy, he had even surpassed his master Maulana Abul Aziz.' He died in 1611, six years after Akbar's death.[103] Another noted calligraphist was Ali Chaman Kashmiri, who also was later on patronised by Emperor Akbar.[104] Many of the calligraphists who adorned the courts of the Mughal Emperors, Jahangir and Shahjahan, were of Kashmiri origin.[105] Of the Chak rulers, writes Baba Daud Khaki, king Yusuf Shah was also gifted with the art of calligraphy and extended his liberal patronage to all the

talented and gifted calligraphists.[106]

Music and Dance

Kashmir saw a phase of great development in music during the medieval period. The royal courts were thronged with musicians from various parts of India, Central Asia, and Persia. During the reign of the Chaks, the art reached a high level of excellence and it may not be wrong to call their period a great age for music. Many of the Chak kings themselves acquired a high degree of skill in the science and art of music. They greatly patronised musicians and dancers and rewarded them generously.[107] King Ghazi Shah spared the life of Hafiz Mirza (the singer of Emperor Humayun) who was imprisoned when Abul Maali invaded Kashmir.[108] We learn from Suka about the generosity of Husain Shah Chak for the musicians and dancers. He writes that "the King witnessed dance of beautiful women and looked at their youthful beauties and heard their songs and gave them clots of gold and silver."[109] He had even fixed every Wednesday of the week for enjoyment in the company of singers and dancers.[110]

But one of the most significant phases of the development of music in Kashmir was the reign of King Yusuf Shah Chak. The fame of his munificence attracted to his court, exponents of both Indian and Irani music, and the king passed most of his time in their company.[111] Habba Khatun was a famous musician at his court. She has founded a school of music in Srinagar, which still keeps her memory alive.[112] She had an ample opportunity to develop musical talents. A musician of no mean achievements, she evolved a new style of Kashmiri music called 'Rast Kashmiri' and developed the capability of singing the Persian and Iraqi Ragas.[113] But with the fall of the Chaks, the royal patronage ceased and the Kashmiri music did not achieve any further development.

The chief contribution to the development of Kashmiri classical music was made by the Persian and Turkistani musicians from the time of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. This new form of Indo-Persian music is now known as Sufiana

Kalam,[114] which is always sung in Chorus.

Commercial Arts

"In Kashmir, writes Mirza Haidar Dughlat, one meets with all those arts and crafts which are, in the most cities uncommon, such as stone polishing, stone-cutting, bottle making, window-cutting (Tabdan tarashi), gold beating etc. In the whole of Mavara-un-Nahr, except in Samarqand and Bokhara, these are nowhere to be met with while in Kashmir, they are even abundant. He concludes that this was all due to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70)."[115] The artistic genius of the Kashmiris, developed and improved under the liberal patronage of the medieval rulers, is still to be found among them. In his itinerary, Bernier has paid a glowing tribute to Kashmiri art. He writes, "The workshop and beauty of their wood work and other things are quite remarkable, and articles of their manufacture are in use in every part of Indies."[116]

Unfortunately, it is not possible to trace the origin of all these arts in Kashmir. The textile art had flourished in Kashmir from early times. The woollen cloth, owing to its utility of being warm and durable, was worn by the Sassanian army.[117] Kashmir also produced woollen stuff 'pattu' which was famous for its durability and warmth. Even today, as was then, the pattu is famous and used during winter season. The Kashmiris learned sericulture from the Chinese much before the time of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, but he improved the manufacture of silk and, as a result, Kashmir subsequently became famous for its silk industry. It was a sort of attraction for the Mughals, and it became a coveted article of their luxury after they snatched the kindom of Kashmir from the Chaks.[118]

Kashmir is famous throughout the world for its shawls. The shawl industry had been a royal monopoly during the medieval period and, after the fall of Chaks, the Mughals placed it under the control of an imperial officer.[119] Shawl-wool had been as item of considerable economic and commercial advantages to Kashmir. The wool was imported into Kashmir from Ladakh and Tibet.[120] For its highly profitable commer-

cial value, the shawl manufacture was speedily multiplying during the medieval times. Side by side, its export to the principle cities of Northern India and Tatar, Persia, and Turkey developed considerably under the Chaks. About the immense production of Kashmiri shawls, George Forster writes in his travels account that, "the Province (during the Chaks time) contained forty thousand shawl loom and that at this day (1798), there are not fifteen thousands."[121] Among the several type of finished shawls, Janamwar being the best. Emperor Akbar on his first visit to Kashmir on June 29, 1589, called the finest shawl by the name of 'parm-narm.'[122] Like silk cloth, the shawl article also occupied a coveted place among the Mughal luxuries. Obviously, it was a good means of livelihood to all the workers engaged in the shawl factories.

The process of making rag paper was introduced into Kashmir by the refugees from Persia and Samarqand between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[123] Its manufacture was gradually expanded and different varieties developed during the medieval period. Some of its polished specimens were known as farmashi, dalmashi, kalamdani and rangmaz. One remarkable quality of this paper was that it could be washed, dried and used again. During the Chak rule, it was exported to Delhi.[124] Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi, a learned scholar of this period, in his letter to Abdul Qadir Badauni, writes : "If you should have any use of Kashmir paper for rough notes and drafts, I hope that you will inform me, so that I may send you from Kashmir, the rough copy of my commentaries. The writing of which can be washed from the paper as completely that no trace of the ink will remain as you yourself have seen."[125] Bhoj-patr or buz (the bark of a tree) was also used for writing in Kashmir.[126] The paper industry made such a remarkable progress under the Chak rulers and subsequently that it elicited high praise from an European traveller who wrote in 1793 that "the Kashmiris fabricated the best writing paper of the East."[127] The paper industry provided means of livelihood to a large section of Kashmiris, both Muslims and Hindus, who engaged themselves in copying Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit manuscripts.[128]

In addition to these arts, tinned metal, initiated from

Persia, willow work, paper machie, wood carving, stone and brick work, flourished during the Chak rule. Other articles manufactured were carpet, copper, brass-vessels and glass ware. Above all the people were also skilled in distillation of wine and essential oils. Wine was commonly taken by the people of all sections.[129] These arts were highly appreciated by Mirza Haidar Dughlat before the Chaks came to power and the European travellers who visited the valley after the Chak fall.[130] Thus, a large number of Kashmiris, engaged in factories were prosperous while the traders and export dealers were rich and formed an economically dominant class in the society. They were also associated with the kings and nobles.

Architecture

The period of the Chak rule was a disturbed one owing to civil wars and the Mughal raids. As a result, many buildings were demolished or mutilated, particularly in the time of Yaqub Shah. Nor did the Chak house produce any prolific builder. However, we learn from Emperor Jahangir that the three Chak kings, Husain Shah, Ali Shah and Yusuf Shah constructed buildings on the three sides of the terrain formed by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin in the Wular lake. Jahangir saw these buidings still standing in his time but later they either submerged or were demolished. Besides, Yusuf Shah laid the foundation of Bagh-i-Yusuf Shah and founded the charms of Gulmarg, the famous health resort in Kashmir.[131] Yaqub Shah rebuild the Khanqah of Shaikh-ul-Alam which had gutten into fire.[132] Wood was the main material used in the construction of buildings. We learn from Abul Fazl that the forts constructed during the Chak period were of thick walls, not less than forty yards in thickness and the walls rising upto ten yards of Akbar's time. The beams of thirty yards length were intertwined. The fort had only one strong gate made of iron.[133]

Shankar Devi, the Queen of Yaqub Shah Chak, after the imprisonment of her husband, constructed a pool known as Vaji in Kishtwar, which is still standing. She also built there

a canal from Kali Nag to the village Zewar in memory of her husband.[134] She is still remembered in Kishtwar by the name of Shankar Maji. She passed the last days of her life in Kishtwar with her brother Raja Bahadur Singh.[135]

REFERENCES

1. See for details, Chapter 1.
2. Brown, *Literary History of Persia*, III, p. 283; Mohibbul Hasan, p. 253 sqq.
3. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 253 sqq.
4. Suka, p. 382.
5. *A.A.*, p. 676, n. 3.
6. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 735; Firishta, p. 511.
7. *A.A*, p. 108, n. 8.
8. H.M., f. 136a-b.
9. Azami, pp. 114-15; *M. Twarikh*, f. 85b.
10. See p. 64 supra.
11. *Qasida Lamiyya*, ff. 130a-b; *B.S.*, f. 167b.
12. H.M., f. 140a.
13. Azam, p. 114.
14. H.M., f. 139a-b; Azam, p. 153.
15. Sufi, II, p. 457.
16. H.M., f. 180 (vide Mohibbul Hasan, p. 256).
17. *B.S.*, f. 167a; H.M., f. 151a.
18. Shaikh Yaqub assumed as a poet, the non-deplume of Sarfi (A.A., p. 652, n. 3).
19. The Asimi clan traces its descent from Asim, a son of Caliph 'Umar Faruq the Great'. Yaqub was the second of the seven sons of Hasan, as he himself mentions this fact in *Maghaz-un-Nabi*. See also Sufi, II, p. 358.
20. *A.A.*, p. 652, n. 3.
21. Mulla Ami was the pupil of the Great Mulla Abdur Rehman Jami of Jam (a district in Herat). Ami died in Kashmir and is burried near the Mazar Baha-ud-Din Ganj Baksh.
22. *A.A.*, p. 652, n. 3.
23. Sufi, II, p. 359.
24. *A.A.*, p. Ibid., *Tarikh-i-Kabir* (Miskin), pp. 70-71.
25. Badauni, II, p. 200., *A.A.*, ibid.
26. Shaikh Hasani of Khwaraizm was himself the pupil of Haji Muhammad Azam who died in Syria in 958 A.H. (In 1924, Khwaraizm united with Bukhara to form the Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic).
27. Badauni, ibid.

28. Badauni, II, p. 201.
29. Ibid., II, pp. 201-2.
30. H.M., f. 162a; *B.S.*, f. 182b; *A.N.*, III, p. 752. See for details of agreement between Emperor Akbar and Sarfi, pp. 123-24, supra.
31. Ibid.
32. Badauni, II, pp. 200-2. Shaik Bahai-ud-Din Ganj Baksh died in 1445 A.D. Subhan (Sufism, its Saints and Shrines), Appendix A.
33. Qaiyum Rafiqi (Sufism, in Kashmir), p. 114. The Kubraviya order was introduced into Kashmir by Sayyid Ali Hamadani.
34. Sufi II, p. 359.
35. Badauni, II, p. 200. The earliest Khamsa was that of Nizami (1203-1209).
36. Ibid.
37. Badauni, II, p. 200.
38. *A.A.*, p. 652, n. 3.
39. Ibid.; Badauni, II, p. 200.
40. Badauni, II, pp. 207-8; Sufi, II, p. 364; Qaiyum Rafiqi (*Sufism in Kashmir*), p. 114.
41. The word Ganai has been derived from 'Gan' meaning pen. Daud was, therefore, called Ganai because he showed his talents by writing numerous books on Islamic religion.
42. Sufi, II, p. 457; Mobibbul Hasan, p. 256.
43. Baba Daud in *Qasida-i-Lamiyya* writes much in praise of Ali Shah and his posteriors Yusuf Shah and Yaqub Shah. He further prays for their bright future.
44. Subhan, Appendix A.
45. All these works are available in the Research Library, Srinagar.
46. Qasida-i-Lamiyya, p. 14.
47. Sufi, II, p. 474; Subhan, Appendix A.
48. Ibid.
49. Subhan, Appendix A—wrongly writes Hubi belong to Suhrawardiya silsilah. He was the follower of Yaqub Sarfi of Kubraviya order of Sufism.
50. Sufi, II, p. 474.
51. Sufi, II, pp. 472-73.
52. *A.A.* (Blochmann), p. 654.
53. The manuscript is available at the Research Library, Srinagar.
54. The MS. is in the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal. See also Waldimit Ivanow's Catalogue of Persian MSS, in Asiatic Society of Bengal (1924, pp. 1089) for references.
55. Subhan (*Sufism, its Saints and Shrines*), Appendix A.
56. Azam, p. 114; *A.A.* (Blochmann), p. 256, n. 1.
57. *A.A.*, ibid. Dakhl or interfering is a type of poetry which displays a skilful use a poet makes of verses of another poet.
58. *A.A.* (Blochmann), p. 676, n. 3.
59. Badauni, II, p. 211.

60. Ibid., H.M., p. 158; *B.S.*, f. 176b.
61. See for details Appendix A, 'Sources'.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Stein refers to a deed of as late as 1682 written both in Persian and Sanskrit. See J.R.A.S. 1980, pp. 187 sqq. The bilingual will of Shaikh Makhdum, a great Kashmiri Saint, dated 984/1576 written on birch-bark is still preserved in Srinagar Museum. The Sanskrit version in Sarada character on the right side cannot be deciphered, but the Persian text on the left is partly legible.
65. Srivara, p. 157.
66. Ibid., p. 136.
67. Ibid., pp. 225-27.
68. Srivara, I, V. Stt. 82-83.
69. 'Lol', is a 'short poem generally the expression of a single mood, most frequent of those moods in the one, resulting from a blending of love and the inattainable yearning for it. The 'Lol' is rarely more than six to ten lines in length including the first two lines which form the refrain of the song. In addition to be recited as poetry, it is also sung to the accompaniment of musical instrument, peculiarly indigenous to Kashmir. The 'Lol' has flexibility of rhythm and a varied stress and makes it as expressive medium for a long number of moods. It stresses accent, helps the metre to convey the subtle rhythms of loric mood. Recently, late Mohd. Amin Mahjoor has compiled a book on Habba's Songs. *Muntakhab-Kashmiri Manzoomat*.
70. For Lal Ded see Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, II, p. 237; G L. Kaul, p. 1 sqq.
71. The name Habba Khatun was given to her by Khawaja Masud, a Sufi of Pampur. Once in her days of misery she went to Khawaja for getting inspiration. The Khawaja consoled her with the words that her days of woe would be soon over and there he changed her maiden name. See J.L. Kaul, content 'Habba Khatun'.
72. The later historians Birbal Kachru (*Majmul-Twarikh*) and Maulvi Hasan (*Tarikh-i-Kashmir*) were the first to write about Habba Khatun.
73. About the birth place of Habba Khatun, the modern Historians have given different versions. Some persist in believing that she came of a Dard stock and point to a place beyond Gurias (modern Gurez) where Kashpat stream from Tibet valley meets the Kishanganga near Tsoorwan, which is also associated with her name (See Academy No. May, 1976, p. 3).

    She is further stated to be the daughter of a Bhuta Raja of Gurez, who owed a huge sum of money to a Kashmiri trader, Khawaja Hayaband. Unable to return the huge sum, the Raja

in lieu of debt, gave her daughter to the Khawaja's son Habba Lala, who married her and brought her to Srinagar. A mound Habbabal is still remembered after her name in Gurez (Academy No. May, 1976, p. 3).

The above stated is the most popularly accepted version regarding her birth-place.

74. *Muntakhab Kashmiri Manzoomat*, verse No. 3, p. 38.
75. Birbal, p. 87, Hasan; p. 250.
76. Birbal, p. 87; Hasan writes that Yusuf Shah offered some money to Habba's husband and brought her to his palace (p. 250).
77. See Chapter 4, content "*Submission of Yusuf Shah*".
78. Pandu Chak (Lat. 34°-2', long. 74°-56') is a village situated on the right bank of the Jehlum about 8 Kms. (5 miles) south-east of Srinagar. The place is known as Pandu Chak after the name of a Chak leader who survived in the middle of the 15th century. Pandu Chak was a reckless leader of the Chaks. He was put to death by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70 A.D.) along with his tribal men (*B.S.*, f. 52b sqq).
79. Sufi, II, p. 390.
80. The modern historian, Dr. Parmu (p. 273, n. 145) and Mohibbul Hasan (p. 100) have called Habba Khatun the Queen of King Yusuf Shah. But unfortunately, the chroniclers have left no evidence to support their views. Habba Khatun also does not refer to Yusuf Shah in any of her poems. It is also wrong to believe that at Biswak (in Bihar) King Yusuf Shah Chak pined for Habba and died insane as is stated by Sufi (I, p. 243), and Mohibbul Hasan (p. 180). Yusuf Shah was perturbed in exile for various other reasons. See for details p. 109, n. 8 supra.
81. *Tabaqat*., III, p. 744.
82. *Azam* (W.K.), f. 41a.
82a. Rafi-ud-Din, f, 29b.
83. Sufi, II, p. 349; Dr. Zutshi, pp. 192-93.
84. *Tabaqat*., III, p. 744. This college was primarily opened in the northern corner of the Kuh Maran, near Khanqah-i-Kubran at the instance of the Padshah's spiritual Pir Baba Ismail (Sufi, II, p. 349).
85. Ibid.
86. *Tabaqat*., III, p. 744; Sufi, p. 11, p. 349.
87. *Qasida-i-Gusliyya*, pp. 4-5.
88. *Tazkira-i-Mulla Raina*, ff. 511a-b.
89. *A.A.*, 676, n. 3; H.M., f. 118 b.
90. *Qasida-i-Gusliyya*, p. 5; *B.S.*, f. 167a; H.M., f. 144b.
91. *Qasida-i Gusliyya*, pp. 4-5.
92. *Muntakhab Kashmiri Manzoomat*, p. 39.
93. Ibid.
94. *A.A.*, p. 384.
95. Ibid.

96. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, p. 121.
97. Sufi, II, p. 555.
98. Abul Fazl writes that in Iran and Turkey, there are eight calligraphical systems of which each one is liked by some people. Six of them were derived in A.H. 310 by Ibn-i-Muqlah from the Ma'qati and the Kufic characters such as the Suls, Tauqis, Muhaqqag, 'Nasq', Ryhan, and Riqa. Some add the Ghubar, and say that this seventh character had likewise been invented by him. The 'Nasq' character is ascribed by many to Yaqut, a slave of the Musta'am Billah (the last Caliph who reigned from 1242-1258 when he was put to death by Hulagu, grandson of Chingez Khan). The Nasq and Suls, each consists of one-third carved lines and two-thirds straight lines. The former is jali (clear) whilst the latter the nasq is Khafi (hidden). For further details. (*A.A.*, pp. 105-10).
99. The eighth character of Calligraphy was 'Nastaliq'. It consists entirely of round lines. There is controversy about its origin (*A.A.*, p. 108).
100. *A.A.*, pp. 105-10.
101. Azam, pp. 114-15; *A.A.*, p. 108, n. 8.
102. *A.A.*, p. 108, n. 8.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid.
106. *Gusliyya Yusuf Shah*, p. 5.
107. Suka, 393.
108. Firishta, p. 511; *Tabaqat.*, II, p. 735; Rodgers, p. 127.
109. Suka, p. 393.
110. H.M., f. 136a-b; Azam, p. 153.
111. H.M., f. 144b. *B.S.*, f. 167b. At the court of Emperor Akbar, writes Rafi-ud-Din, Yusuf Shah corrected Tan Sen and the correction was duly acknowledged by Tan Sen (*N. Akh.*, pp. 102-3). See also *Gusliyya Yusuf Shah*, p. 5.
112. Kamudi, p. 69.
113. *Majmul Twarikh*, p. 87.
114. It has about fiftyfour maqamat (modes) out of which some are like the Indian ragas and bear Indian names like Bhairavi, Lalir and Kalyan, while others have Persian names, such as Isfahani, Dugah, Pajgah, Iraq, Rast-i-Farsi, and Segah. The most prevalent tals are different from those of Indian tals. The bols are also different. Formerly, the singing was done to the accompaniment of Hafiz Naghma, a dance which expressed the meaning of songs by physical movements. The accompanying instrument are Dhukra, Santur, Saz and Sitar. Other common musical instruments were Mizmar (a kind of flute), and Tambur (lute or guitar). The most popular instrument used in folk music

is the Rabab which was borrowed from Persia. (Mohibbul Hasan, pp. 271-92).

115. *T.R.*, p. 434.
116. Bernier, p. 402.
117. J.R.A.S. (Bombay), XIX, p. 241.
118. *A.N.*, III, 725, H.M., f. 159a.
119. Ibid.
120. Forster, II, p. 18.
121. Ibid., p. 20.
122. Ibid.
123. *B.S.*, pp. 44-45.
124. Badauni, II, pp. 150-202.
125. Ibid.
126. *A.A.*, (Jarret), II, p. 352.
127. Forster, Travels, II, pp. 18-19.
128. Ibid.
129. Forster, II, p. 19.
130. *T.R.*, p. 434; Bernier, p. 402; Forster, II, p. 18 sqq.
131. Tuzuk, II, p. 95.
132. Hasan (MS.) I, p. 352.
133. *A.N.*, III, p. 766.
134. Sufi, II, p. 237.
135. Ibid.

9

Conclusion

The 16th century was, indeed, one of the most momentous periods in the history of India including Kashmir. The Mughal Emperor Babur had rolled up the Delhi Sultanate under the Lodi Sultans and laid the foundation of the Mughal Empire in Hindustan 1526 A.D. Humayun, however, lost it at the hands of Sher Shah in 1539-40, but regained it after a hard and continuous struggle for a period of 15 years in 1555 A.D. Almost falling together in time, a new dynasty of Muslim rulers in Kashmir had, after a prolonged political and military struggle, completed an internal revolution and assumed an independent sovereign authority in 1554 A.D. just a year before Humayun's restoration. They were the Chaks who remained in a state of perpetual conflict with Emperor Akbar to be finally absorbed in the mighty imperial structure of the Mughals in 1586 A.D. The Chaks were immigrants in Kashmir from Dardistan who came in two groups with their leaders, Langar Chak and Shams Chak, respectively under local political pressures. The first came in early 14th century, while the other arrived from the direction of Gilgit in Dardistan around middle half of the 16th century.

Earlier in Kashmir, the Sultanate founded by Shahmir, entitled Sultan Shams-ud-Din, in 1339 and consolidated by his immediate successors reached its climax under Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-1470 A.D.). After him, the Sultanate began to tread on its career of decline owing to its incompetent rulers.

It led to centrifugal tendencies and the consequent emergence of tribal political factions like those of the Chaks, Magres, Dars and Lons, almost always at feud with each other supporting one royal contender against the other. In this quadruple struggle, the power of the Chaks, indeed, was in the ascendant. However, their contest for supremacy assumed a new dimension when Mirza Haidar Dughlat, a cousin of Babur, captured and ruled Kashmir for over a decade (1540-1551 A.D.) on behalf of Emperor Humayun. Being an orthodox Sunni, the Mirza alienated the Chaks who were gradually gravitating towards Shiaism. The Chaks had grown potentially powerful under their able leaders like Kaji Chak, Husain Chak, Shams Chak, Daulat Chak and Ghazi Chak.

Re-enforced by religious sentiments, they stepped up their struggle for political supremacy. The Mirza was overthrown and killed. Other tribal groups were overwhelmed and the Chaks captured political power under the leadership of Ghazi Chak and established a new royal house in 1554 A.D. It produced, in all, seven rulers whose total rule covered a period of thirty-two years (1554-1586). They were Ghazi Shah (1554-63), Husain Shah (1563-70), Ali Shah (1570-78), Yusuf Shah (1578 A.D.), Sayyid Mubarak (1578-79), Lohar Shah (1579-80), Yusuf Shah (1580-86), and Yaqub Shah (1586 A.D.).

Under the new regime, Kashmir witnessed a phase of relative peace and prosperity. None of the Chak rulers is credited with the creation of any new administrative and political institution. By and large, the government they established was an enlightened personal despotism. They revitalised the old institutions infusing fresh vigour and enthusiasm into them. The later Shahmir rulers had, in fact, left much to be repaired and reconstructed. The most needed law and order was restored, corrupt officials were punished, and refractory chiefs and nobles suppressed. Agriculture was promoted and produce of food grains stepped up. In fact, a period of comparative tranquility after a long time ensured improvement in all walks of life in varying degrees.

It seems paradoxical that a kingdom, which was rocked by intense religious controversies a couple of times, was still not a state completely dominated by any religious ideology or religious

pressure groups. For the most part, the king ignored advice of the Ulema, flouted the Shariat, and formulated his policies mostly based on political expediency and interests of the state. No doubt, the Qazis were generally required to decide cases relating to religious issues or dispense justice in civil and criminal cases. But the Chak ruler did not leave everything to their final discretion. He himself constituted the highest judicial authority and did not even spare the Qazis in cases of motivated judgements. It is obvious from the disciplinary action against the Qazis—Beja Ganai and Almas—who were executed for issuing wrong decree in the time of Husain Shah Chak. Rules were strictly observed in the administration of justice. Rule of law was one for all and no special consideration was shown to the member of any class. Punishments were very severe and cases of theft rarely occurred. Many inhuman punishments were abolished in the time of Ali Shah at the instance of his Wazir, Sayyid Mubarak.

The Chak rule was generally marked by liberal tendencies. It displayed fairly tolerant religious policy. With the exception of Yaqub Shah Chak, the last ruler of this royal house, who earned bad name for his religious fanaticism in dealing with both his Hindus and Sunni subjects. The Chak rulers, like Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin and Emperor Akbar, participated in the Hindu festivals. They abolished onerous taxes. Even the most hated tax of Jaziya was abolished by Yusuf Shah Chak. Cow-slaughter was strictly prohibited. But Yaqub Chak reversed the process of liberalization. He repealed all that was granted in favour of the Hindus and the Sunni Muslims. The adoption of his stern policy forced many Brahmins to leave Kashmir to save their religion and culture and settled in different parts of India. But many of them embraced the religion of the Chaks in order to save themselves from hazards and tortures of fleecing

The power in Kashmir was mainly derived from land, and conferring of Jagirs was a very important institution having great socio-economic and political implications. Obviously, the Jagirdars constituted a very influential class. Apart from the exercise of many prerogatives within their Jagirs, they monopolised key posts in the administrative set up. The industrial

and commercial classes, though important sections of the society, were of no political consequence. The peasants forming the bulk of the population were economically prosperous. They were, no doubt, exposed to the hazards of occasional floods, famine and fire. The kings are recorded to have extended relief measures to the people in moments of their distress. For the first time under Ghazi Chak, cultivators were freed from forced labour. Tax concessions were granted to peasants and producers and incentives given to workers in the time of Yusuf Shah.

In ancient India, the proprietary rights of cultivators in the soil were fully recognized. Similarly, in medieval Kashmir, peasant was the proprietor of the soil and the king and his jagirdars had a claim only to a share of its produce, not as rent but a kind of tax called Kharaj or land revenue. The government charged one-third of the produce in kind on paddy. The revenue was also claimed by the government over wheat and vetch (a kind of grass for animals' fodder) but it was fixed at two *traks* (one *trak* was epual to eight *seers*) per *patta* (*patta* was a unit of land equivalent to one *bigha* and one *biswah* of Akbar's time and a little more than two-and-a-half Kashmiri *bighas*). The total annual produce of paddy recorded under the Chaks was twenty lakhs of *Kharwars* (one *Kharwar* is equal to three *maunds* and eight *seers* of Akbar's time).

At the cultural plan, the Chaks displayed a high degree of excellence. Their courts were rendezvous of celebrated scholars, calligraphists, musicians, dancers and artisans. Many of these flocked to Kashmir from Isfahan as well as from other parts of India. Baba Talib, a poet and calligraphist of great repute, came to Kashmir from Isfahan. He enjoyed the liberal patronage of the Chaks for full thirty years. Similarly, Mulla Ali introduced Nastaliq style of calligraphy in Kashmir. He was also famous as a composer of Dakhal poetry. The other celebrated poets who flourished in that age were Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi, Baba Daud Khaki, Khawaja Habibullah Hubi, Najmi, Mazhari, Muzhari, Muhammad Amin Mustagini, Mulla Nani (senior), Mulla Nani (junior), Ahmed Kashmiri, and Baba Nasib-ud-Din. Habba Khatun was a popular poetess of great celebrity who introduced romanticism in Kashmiri poetry. The

tradition which she left behind endures even to this day.

The art of calligraphy reached its zenith under the Chak rulers. The calligraphists of great fame who adorned the Chak court were Muhammad Husain (who enjoyed the title of Zareen Qalam or golden pen), Mir Ali and Ali Chaman. Yusuf Shah was himself an accomplished calligraphist. All these men of superior talents joined the Mughal *darbar* after the kingdom was annexed by Emperor Akbar.

For the promotion of learning and literature, numerous educational institutions were set up. The most famous was a college named 'Madrasa-i-Husaini' established by Husain Shah. It was run by a learned man, Fathullah Hakim who was assisted by Ahmed Mulla. Several other new institutions were founded in the time of Yusuf Shah.

The Chaks had great regard for the Sufis. The kings were often found soliciting their blessings. Shaikh Hamza Makhdun, a great Sufi of the age, was paid daily visit. Other Sufis attached to various silsilahs were Yaqub Sarfi, Mulla Feroz Mufti, Shaikh Nauroz, Baba Daud Khaki, Sayyid Jalal-ud-Din, Baba Rishi Harvi, Baba Hasan, Mulla Husain, Gohar Sufi, Wahid Sufi, Zatu Chak, Baba Qadus, Baba Wale, Khawaja Masud, Mir Muhammad-b-Ahmed, Mulla Shah, Gada-i-Kashmir Habibullah Hubi, Shaikh Musawi, Baldmari, Shaikh Muhammad, and Sharief Shah Nimatullah.

Unlike other societies of medieval period, slavery did not exist in Kashmir. The kings and the nobles led a cultured life. One remarkable feature common to all the seven Chak rulers was their piety and devotion to religious meditation. There is no evidence of any seraglio having been maintained by any of the Chak rulers, nor did they degrade themselves by indulging in licentious rivalries. Their outlook in matter of sex was puritanical.

The popular pastimes of the kings were to sit in the company of cultured men, enjoy the beauties of nature, of meadows, springs and flowers, and to witness the concerts of music and dance. Hunting and polo (Chaughan) were also the favourite games of the Chak kings. Ali Shah Chak lost his life while playing polo.

None of the Chak kings could embark on a career of conquests. With the exception of Ghazi Shah, who reconquered the surrounding territories of Vankil, Pakhli, Buniar, Rajouri, Poonch, Ladakh, Kishtwar and the outer hill-states around Naushehra which had once been conquered by Sultan Shihab-ud-Din (1354-74 A.D.), no other king ever tried to extend the boundaries of the Kashmir kingdom. But the boundaries fixed by Ghazi Shah, the first Chak ruler, practically remained unchanged under his successors.

Lack of military adventurism among the Chak had its obvious reasons. First, the Chaks had come to power at a time when the kingdom was in a state of confusion owing to internal dissensions. They concentrated only on the work of consolidation which the kingdom needed most. Secondly, the Chak kings were mostly of advanced age. To annex and administer the areas beyond the high mountain-walls of Kashmir, if not impossible, was a difficult task. The problems of transport and communications is such rugged areas were insurmountable. Thirdly, a constant threat of a Mughal invasion under Emperor Akbar was enough to prevent the Chak rulers to think in terms of imperial expansion.

The Chaks were thus destined to exercise their regal authority only for about one-third of a century. Their power crumbled and Kashmir ceased to exist as an independent kingdom in 1586 A.D. Their fall was a historical necessity. It was the culmination of a historical process operating in accordance with the laws of nemesis.

Different factors are often attributed to it. It was, in fact, an age of the Mughal imperialism. The absorption of a north Indian state like Kashmir, torn within and tormented without, in an increasingly powerful imperial structure was only a matter of time. Other factors, no doubt, did facilitate the Mughal effort and hastened the process.

Emperor Akbar always regarded Kashmir as a former province of the Mughal Empire for it was annexed and ruled by Mirza Haidar Dughlat on behalf of Emperor Humayun for over one decade. Moreover, Emperor Akbar had a fascination for Kashmir as a beautiful land with delightful climate. Besides, the absence of a fixed law of succession often causing civil

wars among the Muslim contenders for power, the political spectacle of Kashmir presented a tempting ground for a pronounced imperialist like Emperor Akbar. It was in a state of constant political strife, marred by intrigues and treacheries, even amounting to treason. The last two Chak rulers were Yusuf Shah Chak and Yaqub Shah Chak. The former was, on the whole, weak and vexillating unfit to control the situation created by Akbar's invasion. Yaqub Shah had alienated a large majority of his people, both Hindus and Sunni-Muslims, by his indiscrete religious attitudes and policies. Yaqub Shah was thus conspicuous by his failure to organise them for a common cause. The bulk of Kashmiri society was seething with discontent caused by sectarian differences and animosities. Fragmentation occasioned by warring social groups and based on racial, religious, and regional differences was so complete that it could hardly contribute to the formation of a united front against an enemy in times of any calamity.

No wonder, therefore, Kashmir sank into oblivion as an independent political entity. Even its cultural life was diluted and impoverished, when its literary and artistic luminaries deserted it to adorn the Mughal Court for the greater glory of Hindustan.

Chronology of the Chak Dynasty

1. Ghazi Shah	1554 A.D.—1561 A.D. (Died in the beginning of 1567 and is burried in the pargana Bankil, Srinagar.)
2. Husain Shah	1561 A.D.—1570 A.D. (Died at Zanipur in Srinagar in 1573.)
3. Ali Shah	1570 A.D.—1579 A.D. (Died while playing Polo at Idgah in Srinagar in 1579 A.D.)
4. Yusuf Shah, First Reign and the period of Interregnum	1579 A.D. (Ruled for two and a half months only.)

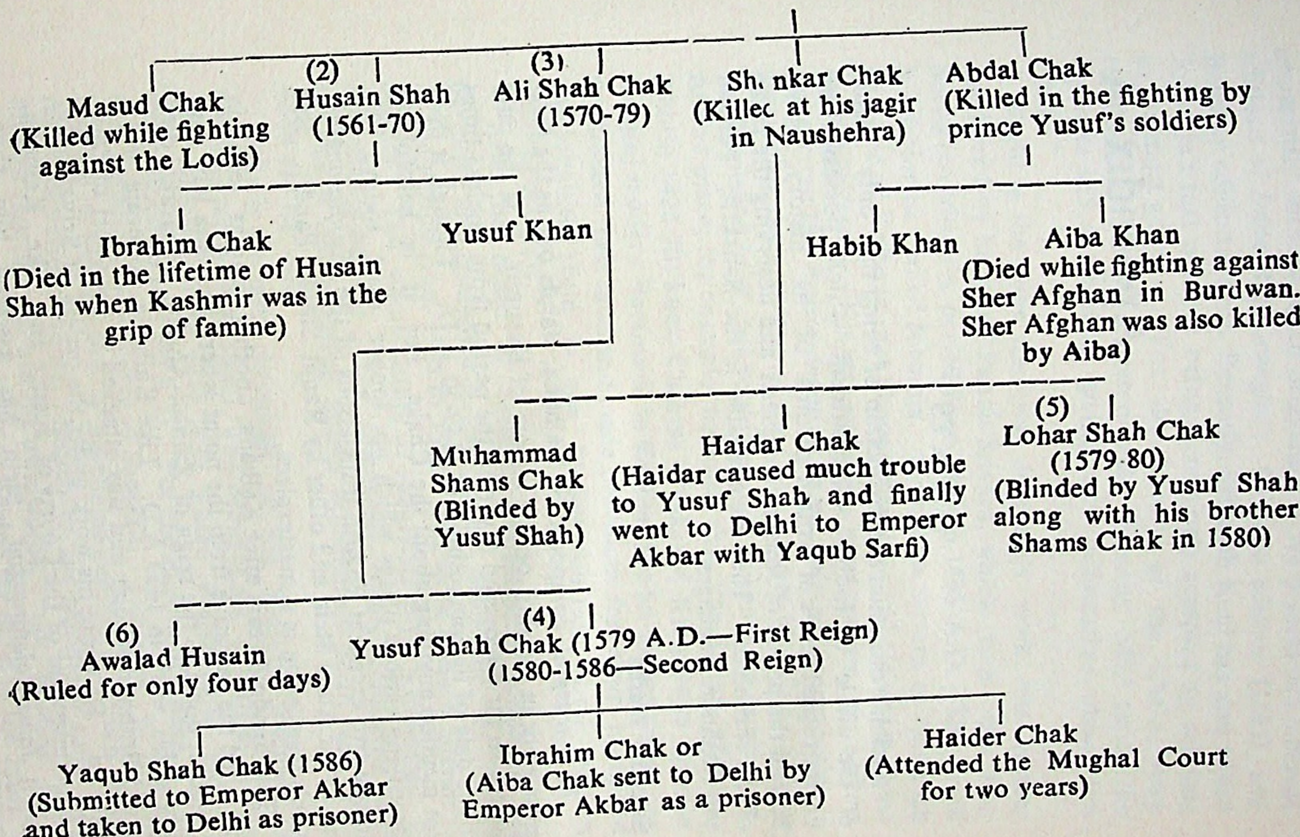
5.	Sayyid Mubarak	1579 A.D.—1580 A.D. (A Baihaqi Sayyid ruled for six months only. He was send to Delhi as Mughal prisoner in March 1587 and died in Bengal in 1589 in the service of the Shah Baz Khan Kambu.)
6.	Lohar Shah	1580 A.D. (He ruled for nine months only and was finally imprisoned by Yusuf Shah. His eyes were gouged out and he died Prosaic.)
7.	Yusuf Shah's Second Reign	Nov. 1580 A.D.—Feb. 14, 1586. A.D. (He submitted to Bhagwan Das, the Mughal General in Feb. 14, 1586, for paying personal homage to Emperor Akbar. He died at Biswak in Bihar on Sept. 22, 1582, as Mughal prisoner and is burried there.)
8.	Awalad Husain	1586 A.D. (He ruled for few days only. Details are not available about his last days.)
9.	Yaqub Shah	Feb. 1586 A.D.—Sept. 1586 A.D. (He ruled for about seven months and continued the struggle for the independence of Kashmir till Feb. 1588. He finally submitted to Emperor Akbar, on July 23, 1589 at Srinagar who send him to Man Singh in Rohtas. Yaqub died of eating poisoned betel leaf in Oct. 1593 at Biswak in Bihar and is burried there.)

Genealogy Table

THE CHAK DYNASTY
1554 A.D.—1586 A.D.

Lashkar Chak
(The Chak tribe-split up into two factions in Dardistan)

- 1. Langer Chak (He migrated to Kashmir in the time of Raja Suhadeva (1301-20) and settled at Tragam)
  - Pandu Chak (Posthumous son)
    - Husain Chak (Husain's sister married to Shams Chak)
      - (1) Gazi Shah Chak (1554-1561) (Posthumous son and the founder of the Chak dvnasty)
        - Haidar Chak (Executed by the father for killing uncle)
        - Ibrahim Chak or Aiba Chak (Killed by prince Yusuf in the time of Ali Shah Chak)
        - Ahmed Khan (His eyes were gouged out by Husain Shah when he rose in revolt against the latter)
    - Kaji Chak (Kaji married the widow of Husain Chak)
- 2. Hilmat Chak (Gilgit)
  - Shams Chak (He came to Kashmir from Gilgit in around the beginning of the 15th century and settled at Kopwara)
    - Daulat Chak (Married Kaji Chak's widow)
      - Lohar Chak (Cousin of Yusuf Shah Chak)
      - Ali Chak (Yusuf Shah Chak deposited his treasury with Ali Chak when forced in exile)


Masud Chak
(Killed while fighting against the Lodis)
(2) Husain Shah (1561-70)
(3) Ali Shah Chak (1570-79)
Sh. nkar Chak
(Killec at his jagir in Naushehra)
Abdal Chak
(Killed in the fighting by prince Yusuf's soldiers)
Ibrahim Chak
(Died in the lifetime of Husain Shah when Kashmir was in the grip of famine)
Yusuf Khan
Habib Khan
Aiba Khan
(Died while fighting against Sher Afghan in Burdwan. Sher Afghan was also killed by Aiba)
Muhammad Shams Chak
(Blinded by Yusuf Shah)
Haidar Chak
(Haidar caused much trouble to Yusuf Shah and finally went to Delhi to Emperor Akbar with Yaqub Sarfi)
(5) Lohar Shah Chak (1579-80)
(Blinded by Yusuf Shah along with his brother Shams Chak in 1580)
(6) Awalad Husain
(Ruled for only four days)
(4) Yusuf Shah Chak (1579 A.D.—First Reign)
(1580-1586—Second Reign)
Yaqub Shah Chak (1586)
(Submitted to Emperor Akbar and taken to Delhi as prisoner)
Ibrahim Chak or
(Aiba Chak sent to Delhi by Emperor Akbar as a prisoner)
Haider Chak
(Attended the Mughal Court for two years)

Appendix A

SOURCES

Kashmir can claim the distinction of being the only region of the whole of Indian sub-continent which possesses an uninterrupted series of written records of its history, going beyond the period of Muslim conquests and deserving the name of real chronicles. They are available in the Sanskrit, Persian and Kashmiri languages.

Sanskrit Works

Rajatarangini, composed by Kalhana, stands out as the foremost work in Sanskrit on the history of Kashmir. It is the only source so far discovered covering the period from ancient times to the date of its composition in 1149-50 A.D. Though it does not mention anything about the Chaks, but it is helpful in identifying various places which no longer exist today. We possess two excellent English translations of the *Rajatarangini* : one by Sir Aurel Stein and other by Ranjit Singh Pandit. But Stein's translation is a masterpiece.

Two hundred years after Kalhana, another scholar Jonaraja continued the narrative from the point where Kalhana left and brought it down to the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin. Jonaraja died while at his work in 1459 A.D. Like Kalhana, Jonaraja was a learned Brahmin scholar and was attached to the court of Zain-ul-Abidin. He wrote his work under the orders of Sriyabhatta, the superintendent of the Courts of Justice and, like Kalhana, called it *Jaina-Rajatarangini*. Stein has assessed him thus : "Jonaraja was a scholar of considerable attainments, but

apparently without much originality."[1] We possess two different editions of *Jaina-Rajatarangini*: Calcutta edition (1885) and Bombay edition (1896). Recently, Srikanth Koul has also edited Jonaraja's text which is being increasingly accepted by scholars as the most genuine. For the history of the Chaks, stray references are found scattered in the Bombay MS,[2] while the Calcutta MS. is silent in giving any information about the Chaks.[3]

Right in the same tradition, Jonaraja's work was further continued by his pupil Pandit Srivara, which runs into four books covering the period from 1459 to 1486 A.D. This work is inferior to that of Jonaraja. Stein finds Srivara as 'a slavish imitator of Kalhana, not above reproducing whole verses from his predecessors. His text reads in a great portion, more like a canto from the *Rajatarangini*, than an original composition.'[4] Regarding the activities of the Chak tribe of his time, Srivara has furnished brief, but very important information in his text. At one place, for example, he writes that "the Sultan (Zain-ul-Abidin 1420-70) knew Chakras (Chaks) of Kramarajya (district Kamraj modern Baramulla in Kashmir) to be wicked men, he confiscated their land and made provisions for their livelihood and inhabited them in the Madav (district Maraj modern Sopore) country."[5]

After the death of Srivara, Prajyabhatta continued the narrative and composed *Rajavalipataka*, describing the history of the period from 1486 to 1512. The work is much inferior to Srivara. The whole history of twenty-six years is described in a confusing manner. The important events connected with the rise of Chaks during Sultan Muhammad Shah and Fath Shah are left out.

Suka is the last chronicler of the Sanskrit tradition of historiography in Kashmir, who brought his narrative entitled *Rajavalipataka* from 1513 A.D. where Prajyabhatta suddenly stopped, down to 1596 A.D. For the history of Chaks, it is the only contemporary source in Sanskrit. The work is defective because its topography is unreliable and there is much exaggeration of various events. Moreover, the chronicler took upon himself this task, to use his own words, "not because felt a desire to become a poet but to lighten my mind of the mass of

accounts of bygone kings of great prosperity about whom I have heard."[6]

Despite these defects, his work is valuable, for it throws light on the activities of the Chaks, socio-economic life of the people, and the Mughal attacks to which the Kashmiris were subjected.

Contemporary Persian Works

It is indeed surprising that while the Sanskrit historical tradition continued uninterrupted down to the Chak period and beyond upto 1596, no such chronicle in Persian appeared. With the exception of Sayyid Ali's *Tárikh-i-Kashmir*, which was written in the reign of Yusuf Shah Chak, all the extant Persian chronicles of Kashmir were composed after the Mughal conquest of the country (1586). Abul Fazl mentions about a Persian chronicle of the Chak period written by Mulla Shah Muhammad Shahabadi (now called Dur in Anantnag district in Kashmir). According to Dr. Parmu, it is an incomplete translation of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* by Shahabadi at the behest of Emperor Akbar.

Mohibbul Hasan also refers to a Persian text, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* (anonymous) covering the period from earliest time to Shams-ud-Din II. According to him, 'the text is based on the Sanskrit chronicle written in 1590 and not in 1629 as mentioned in the catalogue of Auner."[7] Perhaps the work is not any other than Shahabadi's text as referred to by Dr. Parmu. But while Dr. Parmu has acknowledged Dr. Ethe's statement that its author is undoubtedly the same Mulla Muhammad Shahabadi, who translated the Sanskrit original text by the order of Emperor Akbar, Mohibbul Hasan wrongly believes it to be anonymous.

Tarikh-i-Kashmir written by Husain-b-Kashmiri, is a brief sketch of the history of Kashmir covering the period from the earliest times to 1618 A.D. written at the request of Jalal-ud-Din Naji, the grandfather of Haidar Malik. The author of this work has completely skipped over the history of later Shahmiri rulers and the Chaks. He makes only a casual reference to Yaqub Shah's submission to emperor Akbar.

Tarikh-i-Kashmir, by Sayyid Ali, is the earliest chronicle of

Kashmir now available covering the period upto Yusuf Shah's first reign. The author was descendant of Sayyid dynasty and related to Sultan Nazuk Shah of Kashmir through his mother.[8]

Since the work begins abruptly, it is not possible to ascertain whence and from which period it actually starts. But it ends at a particular point which clearly shows that the author ceased writing in 1579 A.D. during Yusuf Shah Chak's first reign.[9] As the author was himself a participant in the expedition against Mirza Haidar Dughlat in Kashmir, he has given the first hand information about the political condition at that time.[10] For the early history of the Chaks, when they struggled hard for their rise, the account is valuable. But for the period when they assumed royal power, the account is brief and sketchy. The chronicle also contains biographical sketches of the Sufis and Rishis who flourished during the Shahmiri and the Chak periods.

Baharistan-i-Shahi (anonymous), is the most valuable history of Kashmir covering the period from the earliest Muslim time to 1614 A.D. It is the only source which has filled the vacuum left by the Sanskrit as well as other contemporary Persian chroniclers. The chronicle is particularly important for it gives a detailed information about the origin of the Chaks, their migration to Kashmir, their rise to power and the administrative and religious policy they pursued. The Mughal relations with Kashmir, during the Chak period are comprehensively recorded.

It also relates in detail the last days of Yusuf Shah Chak and Yaqub Shah Chak spent in exile in Bihar and clearly states the name of the locality where they are buried. The author has also referred to the condition of a number of veteran military leaders, who were taken captive or sailed honourably to Delhi along with the last two Chak rulers, Yusuf Shah and Yaqub Shah. For example, the chroniclers refers to the part played by Haidar Malik, the author of *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* and Aiba Chak, against Sher Afghan, who was eventfully killed by the former. Aiba Chak died himself on spot, while Mehr-un-Nisa (Nurjahan) was protected by Haidar Malik for Prince Salim later Emperor Jahangir,[11]

We also find stray references to the socio-economic and religious condition of the people under the Chak rule.

In the last pages, the author also relates the fauna and flora of Kashmir.

Thus for the reconstruction of the Chak history, the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* is the most important without which the history of this period would be incomplete. The author has given both Hijra and Laukika dates and occasionally refers to Laukika by the name of Kashmiri sana.

Another contemporary sources of great importance for the Chak history is the *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, written by Haidar Malık Chadura. He was a Kashmiri by birth and hailed from a village called Chadura, "Kashmiri Tsadur", situated in the Nagam pargana,[12] some 18 Km. south of Srinagar. Haidar has taken his epithet chadura after the same village. He was the son of an orthodox Sunni Kamal-ud-Din Malık Muhammad Naji. Both father and son serve the royal Chak house and passed the maximum period of their time with king Yusuf Shah [13]

A man of great intelligence and soldierly qualities, Haidar Malik came in the good books of Emperor Jahangir who took him in his service. A turning point in the career of Haidar Malik came when in Bengal he and Aiba Chak, an exiled Kashmiri were despatched to chastise Sher Afghan, the husband of Mehr-un-Nisa. While Aiba Chak slew Sher Afghan and also lost his own life there, Haidar Malik took Mehr-un-Nisa under his safe custody for Emperor Jahangir. In this campaign he was also supported by his brother Ali Malik. Emperor Jahangir appreciated Haidar's bravery and decorated him with the title of Rais-ul-Malik and he became the favourite of the royal couple.[14] Later, at the behest of Emperor Jahangir he wrote the *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* in three years (1617—1620 A.D.). The major portion of this work deals with the rise and fall of the Chaks. The chronicler has given a detailed account of the relations between the Chaks and the Mughals. Some aspects of socio-economic religious and of cultural importance are also found scattered in the text.

An important feature of this work is the author's attempt to maintain a certain degree of impartiality. Though himself

a Shia, the author does not conceal the vices of the Chak ruler who were all Shias; rather than he boldly accuses them for their attitude of intolerance. He has criticised Yaqub Shah Chak for his anti-Sunni policy. He has exposed the shortcomings of Yusuf Shah Chak without any reservations.

With the close of Yaqub Shah's reign, the author also stops writing. Though well-acquainted with the treatment meted out to Yusuf Shah Chak and Yaqub Shah Chak at Delhi, the author is conspicuous by his silence. He is also silent about the last resting place of the two Kashmir kings. It seems that the author has eliminated all these events which were not liked by Emperor Jahangir. As such the work is inferior to *Baharistan-i-Shahi* for it has neglected certain aspects of much historical importance. The author is accurate in his treatment of topography and chronology though some errors which can be found there are due to wrong transcription. Its copies are preserved in the Research Library Srinagar and one of its copy is available in the History Department of the University of Jammu.

Contemporary Mughal Histories

Besides local chronicles, we have Mughal Persian records. These histories do not deal entirely with Kashmir but they contain fairly lengthy accounts for the Chak periods.

Tarikh-i-Rashidi, written by Mirza Haidar Dughlat is an interesting and valuable autobiography of Mirza Haidar Dughlat, who invaded Kashmir twice, first in 1533 A.D. and again in November 1540 A.D. He conquered the whole kingdom of Kashmir and ruled over it for the next ten years.

Mirza Haidar was a cousin of Emperor Babur from his mother's side. He gave final touch to his stupendous work in Kashmir. He has given a good account of the geography, agriculture, arts and crafts as well as of the various religious sects which he found during his stay in the valley. Besides, the author has given a vivid account of the political role played by the Chaks and the Magres at the time of Kashmir annexation and after. He also held these two tribal families responsible

for causing confusion in the kingdom. Thus the work is valuable for the history of the Chak period.

Akbar Nama, composed by Abul Fazl, has been translated into English in three volumes by Beveridge. It is an important source for the Chak history. Of the three volumes, the first and the third give a detailed history of the various military expeditions despatched by Emperor Akbar for the annexation of Kashmir. Volume second portrays a complete picture of Abul Maali's expedition against Ghazi Shah, the first Chak ruler of Kashmir.

Besides Abul Fazl has given a good account of political, socio-economic, religious and cultural conditions under the Chaks. References have also been made to various Sufis and Saints who flourished during this period. One virtue of this source is that it furnishes correct information pertaining to chronology and topography.

Ain-i-Akbari, by Abul Fazl, is no less significant than *Akbar-Nama*. It also furnishes valuable information about the general condition of the Kashmir populace during the Chak period. It is also accurate in topography. Like *Akbar-Nama* it also give a description of the various Mughal expeditions sent against the Chak rulers of Kashmir. The value of this source is further enhanced by the fact that it contains biographical notes on the lives of learned scholars, saints and Sufis of the time. It has also given a detailed account of the Calligraphists, artisans and men of repute in various fields who entered into Mughal service during and after the Chak rule in Kashmir. Its English translation by Blochmann and Jarret is very authentic.

Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri or 'Jahangir's Memoirs' contain valuable references to the various political events, various social customs and the fauna and flora of Kashmir. It is perhaps the only source which refers to some building constructed by some of the Chak rulers on the three sides of the terrace formed by Zain-ul-Abidin in the Wular lake.[15] Unfortunately none of them is standing today. It also throws light on the struggle of the later Chaks.

General Histories of India

In addition to the above mentioned Mughal histories, many other historians in the time of Emperor Akbar took deep interest in the study of Kashmir. These include *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*.

Tabaqat-i-Akbari, by Nizam-ud-Din Ahmed, comprises a chapter on the kings of Kashmir from the earliest time to the fall of the Chaks. The main source of information besides personal observations for this chapter were *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* and Suka's *Rajavalipataka*. It is a valuable source and has recorded many events which even the local chronicler have ignored. For example, Ghazi Shah's invasion of Ladakh and Husain Shah's contribution to the promotion of learning are narrated in detail in this work. Unfortunately, the author ceases writing with the invasion of Raja Bhagwan Das, so far the history of Yaqub Shah's period of rule, it is not helpful.

Tarikh-i-Firishta by Muhammad Qasim commonly known as 'Firishta' has reproduced verbatum *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* of Nizam-ud-Din Ahmed. Its description of religion, agriculture and buildings is based on *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Haidar. It contains a chapter on Kashmir history.

Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, by Abdul Qadir Badauni, does not contribute any particular chapter on Kashmir history. Like Abul Fazl, the author has also referred to numerous significant events pertaining to Chak period in his book. For example, Akbar's policy towards Kashmir and brief notes on the lives of important literary personalities and Sufis and saints are found scattered at different pages of this book.

Biographies of Saints and Religious Texts

Among the various biographies of saints and learned men, only a few are important from our point of view. *Tuhfat-ul-Ahbab* (anonymous) written about the middle of the sixteenth century is a life history of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi, the preceptor of Nurbakshiya faith in Kashmir. It contains several references about the Chak's conversion to Nurbakshiya faith.

The Hilyatul-Arifin is a biography of Shaikh Hamza Mukhdum by his devoted disciple Khawaja Isaq Qari. The biography mostly contains the miracles performed by the great Saint. Stray references to the society are also found scattered in the biography.

Another biography of the noted Shaikh is Tazkiratu'l-Arefin by Mulla Ali Raina which throws light on socio-religious life of the period. The biography was completed in 1587.

Nurullah Shastari, contains a sketchy biographical accounts of Sayyid Ali Hamadani and Khawaja Muhammad Nurbaksh. Among the other Tazkiras, the *Tazkira-i-Mashaik-i-Kashmir*, by Baba Nasib, a contemporary of the Chaks throws some light on the missionary activities of Nur-ud-Din Rishi and his followers in the valley.

Nur-Nama, by Baba Nasib-ud-Din Ghazi is a life history of Nur-ud-Din Rishi composed in 1630-31 and the *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, by Mum ud-Din Miskin published in 1904.

Asrar-ul-Abrar, by Daud Mishkati, a contemporary of the later Chaks, is a biographical dictionary of Kashmir Sufis and Muslim saints.

Qasida-i-Gusliyya, by Daud Khaki, deals with religious principles and precepts on Islam. It also throws light on Yusuf Shah Chak's character, habits, religious activities and administrative affairs. The book is didactic in nature. Another work of the same nature is *Qasida-i-Lamiyya* written in the time of Yusuf Shah Chak. In addition to the religious life of the king Yusuf it briefly refers to the political activities of the period.

Later Persian Chronicles of Kashmir

Tarikh-i-Kashmir, by Pandit Narayan Koul 'Ajiz', is a history of Kashmir covering the period from the earliest time to the downfall of the Chak dynasty.

The work is based on both Sanskrit and Persian chronicles and was completed in 1710 A.D.

Nawadar-ul-Akhbar, by Rafi-ud-Din Ahmed, is the history of Kashmir from the earliest time to the end of the Chak rule. It is mainly based on *Baharistan-i-Shahi* and Haidar Malik's *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*. The author is severely critical of the Chak

rule for their intolerant religious policy, but furnishes valuable information about the administration and the relation of the Chaks with the Mughals. *The Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, written by Azam, son of Khair-uz-Zaman Khan Diddamar of Srinagar, was composed between 1738 and 1747 A.D. the work deals with the political history of Kashmir. It throws light on the life, the economic, religious and cultural life of the people. Azam seems to have derived information from the *Rajatarangini*, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, *Tarikh-i-Mulla Hasan Qari*, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Haidar Malik, *Tarikh-i-Narayan Koul* and *Tarikh-i-Firishta*. *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, by Maulvi Hasan Shah, occupies a unique position among the later Persian chronicles of Kashmir. It consists of three volumes. The first volume deals with the geography and topography of Kashmir. The second deals with the political history of Kashmir from the ancient times to the author's own days, and the third contains in detail the history of the saints and Sufis which are based on tazkiras and local traditions.

Moulvi Hasan was the first to make use of both the Sanskrit and Persian sources, such as, the Sanskrit texts of Kalhana, Jonaraja, Srivara, Prajyabhatta and Suka, the Persian texts, *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, Haidar Malik's *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* and other local Persian and the Mughal histories.

It is the only source which supplies useful information about the Chak's activities after their fall and their struggle to liberate themselves from the Mughal yoke. It deals with the socio-economic and cultural life of the period. Details about Habba Khatun, the great celebrity at the court of Yusuf Shah Chak are particularly recorded.

Majmul Tawarikh, by Birbal Kachru, is another history of Kashmir upto the time of Sikh period written in 1841 A.D. The author has heavily borrowed from Moulvi Hasan and is the second chronicler after Hasan to narrate popular traditions about Habba Khatun.

Among the less known later Persian works are *Wajiz-ul-Tawarikh* by Abdul Nabi, *Seir-ul-Mutakhreen* by Muhammad Baba-ul-Haq and Mojiz-ul-Tawarikh (anonymous).

Among the later works are Urdu histories of the 19th century such as *Guldasta-i-Kashmir* written by Har Gopal, *Nigarastan-*

i-Kashmir by Qazi Zahur, and *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* and *Tarikh-i-Badsh.hi* by Muhammad-ud-Din Foqh.

European Travellers' Account

No European traveller ever visited Kashmir before it was annexed by Emperor Akbar in 1586. The first to visit Kashmir were father Jerome Xavier and Benedictde Goes who accompanied Emperor Akbar in 1597. Xavier has given a touching story of the people who were suffering from famine and hunger. The account which they left though sketchy is very useful for the Chak period.

Another traveller, Franciso Pelsaert gives a short description of Kashmiri people. Francis Bernier who visited the valley with Aurangzeb in 1663, relates in detail the socio-economic condition of Kashmir. Of the other travellers such as Forster, Father Desideri, Moorcroft, Vigne, Huget Henderson and later on Izzetullah, Victor Jacquemont are quite famous.

They help us in identifying various old localities which had earlier disappeared or changed their names. They have recorded many factual details and traditions of much historical importance.

The sources for the Chak period are many and varied. As such they enable us to reconstruct the history of the Chaks in all its aspects, fairly and quite in detail.

REFERENCES

1. Stein, II, p. 373.
2. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 6.
3. Srikanth Koul has not accepted Bombay edition as authentic for, according to him, it is wrongly interpreted (p. 23, n. 6).
4. Stein, II, p. 373.
5. Srivara, p. 102; Parmu, p. 9, n. 22.
6. Suka (Dutt's tr), p. 330.
7. Parmu, see chapter 'Sources'.
8. Sayyid Ali, p. 41.

9. Sufi wrongly states that the work was written during Muhammad Shah's first reign (I, p. XI).
10. Sayyid Ali, p. 41.
11. *B.S.*, pp. 206 to 212.
12. Stein, II, p. 374.
13. *B.S.*, f. 139a.
14. H.M., pp. 174-75. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* have also recorded this event (pp. 206-212).
15. *Tuzuk*, I, p. 95.

Appendix B

TOPOGRAPHY OF BISWAK

Biswak or Basang is the name of a village in the Patna district of Bihar. In order to reach this place, one has to move from Patna to Fathwa Railway Station, which lies at a distance of fourteen miles from the city. From Fathwa Railway station a small rail line leads to Islampur in the south and then comes the sub-station of Khurrampur. In the east of Khurrampur is a village called Haidar Chak and at a half-hour's journey from Khurrampur is a village called Kashmiri Chak,[1] now in desolated and ruined condition. In the start of this village lies a field where some graves made of bricks are seen.[2]

From Kashmiri Chak in the direction of south, at a distance of 3 or 4 furlongs lies an Oasis and the inhabitants call it jungle and the village is known as Biswak. The villagers call it Bismak but in the Government papers it has been recorded as Biswak. About a furlong distant from here is a platform with two graves of white stone. There are more graves, some with minarets, and others flat. The former graves are said to be of Yusuf Shah and Pir Yaqub Shah Chak. Yaqub Shah is also said to have constructed a pool there which fed the whole village.

Kashmiri Chak village is a famous after Yusuf Shah Chak and those who had accompanied Yusuf settled there and the place is known as Haidar Chak. At Kashmiri Chak, one Abdul Rashid Chak, who deals in medicines, claims among the posterity of Yusuf Shah Chak.

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1. Prof. Mohibbul Hasan has wrongly identified the graves of Yusuf and Yaqub at Kashmiri Chak.
2. The place of grave-yards in Biswak were identified by late Muhammad Amin Mahjoor who visited this place personally. The account given above has been collected from him at Srinagar.

Appendix C

Square Silver Coins of the Chak rulers
from 'JASB, 1885' C.J. Rodgers

Margin	Reverse in Scalloped Lozenge	Observe No.

Appendix D

Religious Controversies

Like their origin, the original religious faith of the Chaks is not known with certainty. But from the study of names[1] of their predecessors, it seems that the Chaks were non-Muslims, and since they had migrated to Kashmir from the region called Dardistan, which was inhabited by the Buddhists, they may have been the followers of Buddhism. As noticed elsewhere, the Chaks entered Kashmir in two groups. One came under their leader Langar Chak in the time of Raja Suhadeva (1280-1301), and was converted to Islam in Kashmir under the pressure of Muslim missionaries. The second group came to the valley at a much later stage under their leader Shams Chak, son of Hilmat Chak, and they seem to have already embraced Islam in Gilgit before coming to Kashmir.[2] It is clear from the account of contemporary chroniclers that before their conversion to Nurbakhshia[3] faith, they were all Sunni Muslims.[4] Their conversion to Nurbakhshia faith took place during the reign of Muhammad Shah (1484-1487) when Shams-ud-Din Iraqi,[5] the preceptor of this faith, was preaching Nurbakhshia doctrines in Kashmir.[6]

There is a difference of opinion about the faith which Shams-ud-Din Iraqi propagated in Kashmir. Mirza Haidar in his *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* states : "He (Shams-ud-Din Iraqi) introduced a corrupt form of religion giving it the name of 'Nur Bakhshi' (the light giver). He wrote a book for these cowardly people called *Fikh Ahwat*,[7] which does not conform to the teaching of any of the sects, whether Sunni or Shia. He further writes that the book *Fikh Ahwat* which is celebrated in

Kashmir, I sent complete to the Ulama of Hindustan who repudiated it and wrote on the back of it a decree (fatwa) of remonstrance as follows :

> In the name of God, the Merciful, Oh ! God, show unto us the truth in its reality, and the false, wherein it is void; also show us things as they are. After perusing this book and weighing its contents, it seemed clear (to us) that the author of it was of a false sect, who had gone against the Book and the Sunna and did not belong to any domination of the people of Truth.[8]

According to Firishta, "Shams-ud-Din Iraqi, a disciple of Shaikh Kasim Anwar, the son of Sayyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh, arrived in Kashmir. In short time many Kashmiri particularly Chuk (Chaks) became convert to Nurbakhsh tenets."[9]

The contemporary Persian chroniclers Haidar Malik and the writer of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* have not mentioned the Chaks as Nurbakhshiyas but writes them as Shias. It is because the two chroniclers composed their works quarter a century after the Chak rule collapsed and by that time the Nurbakhshia sect had been entirely taken and the character of Shi-ite faith and as discussed elsewhere, the Chaks who were earlier Nurbakhshias, for certain reason had declared themselves Shi-ites long before their establishment of rule in Kashmir.[10] Moreover, the authors being themselves Shias did not consider it worthwhile to dwell upon the Nurbakhshia belief which was swiftly assuming the character of Shia faith.[11]

Hence, it is clear from the above discussion and supported by the accounts of travellers, such as Vigne, Frederick Drew, Moorcrofts, etc. that the faith propagated by Shams-ud-Din Iraqi was no other than Nurbakhshism.[12] But the book '*Fikh-Ahwat*' which he composed while in Kashmir was condemned by the Ulema of Hindustan owing to its variation from the original text '*Fikh Ahwat*' compiled by Muhammad-b-Abdullah, the founder of Nurbakhshiya faith. And for this, Shams Iraqi was called "heretical", who persecuted and endeavoured to extricate the sect."[13] Unfortunately, no copy of Iraqi's *Fikh*

Ahwat is found today. It seems that Mirza Haidar Dughlat destroyed all its copies.

The Chaks, who were converted to Nurbakhshia sect, did not yield to the Mirza's pressure tactics and stuck to their faith strictly. But with the passage of time, as there was much similarity[14] between Shi-ite and Nurbakhshiya sects, the latter in the natural process gravitated towards Shi-ism, till finally it was assimilated in it and there was nothing left to distinguish it from the other. And since under the influence of Persia, as writes Mohibbul Hasan, where Shah Ismail, the founder of the Safayid dynasty (1502-1736), had declared Shi-ism or the "Doctrine of the twelver's[15] as state religion the Nurbakhshiya took on increasingly the character of Shi-ite movement".[16] In Kashmir, too, the Nurbakhshiyas declared themselves Shias.[17]

Shi-ite Movement in Kashmir

The Shi-ite movement gained momentum with the rise of Kaji Chak.[18] He forced upon the people the new creed and converted many people to his faith. But soon Kashmir was invaded and annexed by Mirza Haidar Dughlat (foster brother of Emperor Humayun). The Chaks and with it the Shi-ite movement received a severe setback at his hands. Mirza Haidar ruled over Kashmir for eleven years (1540-1551). During this period, he ruthlessly persecuted the Shias and the Nurbakhshiyas and slaughtered them mercilessly. Within a short period he was able to declare boldly, to quote his own words, "No one dared openly to profess this faith, all denied it because they are aware of my severity towards them and know that if any one of the sect appears, he will not escape the punishment of death."[19]

But after his death in 1550-51, the Chaks once again renewed vigorously their political struggle and soon began to play a dominant role in the kingdom. Daulat Chak and Ghazi Chak in succession came to occupy the position of wizarat one after the other. During the wizarat of Daulat Chak, Shi-ism was spread through peaceful means and not by force as happened during the wizarat of Kaji Chak.[20] Thereafter, Shi-ism

spread more speedily particularly after Ghazi Chak laid the foundation of the Chak rule in Kashmir. Though there was no instance of a forcible conversion under the Chak regime, yet the last king, Yaqub Chak, adopted severe measures in propagating Shi-ism.[21] But he could not continue his missionary activities for long because the kingdom was soon annexed by the Mughal Emperor, Akbar on Oct. 16, 1586.

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1. The names of their tribal leaders were Langar Chak, Lashkar Chak, Hilmat Chak, Pandu Chak etc. See chapter 1.
2. *B.S.*, f. 67b.
3. For details of Nurbakhshia faith, see *Ency. of Islam*, p. 453; *Tuhfat-ul-Ahbab.*, p. 1, Sqq.
4. *T.R.*, p. 434; *B.S.*, f. 80a.
5. Shams-ud-Din Muhammad Iraqi (from Iraq) was the son of Yahya-al-Lahdjani of Talism (Talism appears to have been a name that was applied to the Province of Gilan. See, *T.R.*, p. 435). His father was known as Asiri, the author of a Dewan. (For detailed information of his activities see, *Ency. of Islam*, p. 453; *Tarikh-i-Rushidi*, p. 435; Sayyid Ali, p. 33). No details are available about the early life and education of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi and how he was converted to Nurbakhshiya. However, it seems from the account of Firishta, that he was a devoted disciple of Shaikh Qasim Anwar, the son and the successor of Muhammad-b-Abdullah, the founder of Nurbakhshiya faith. Shamms-ud-Din may have converted to Nurbakhshiya faith by Qasim Anwar (p. 480). Shams-ud-Din Iraqi came to Kashmir twice, both with political and religious motivations, and during his second visit he successfully converted the Chaks to his faith. (Firishta, p. 486). Sayyid Ali tells us that after eight years of his stay at Kashmir his mission was successful (p. 33): Shams Iraqi was a cultured man. His composition of a Dewan and '*Fikh-Ahwat*' clearly signify his good education. (*T.R.*, p. 435; Sayyid Ali, p, 38). Nothing is recorded about the death of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi. (*Tuhfat-ul-Ahbab*, p. 1 sqq.) For conversion of the Chaks, see p. 11, supra.
6. *T.R.*, pp. 434-35.
7. *Fikh-i-Ahwat* was a treatise on law in Arabic written by the founder of Nurbakhshiya faith, Muhammad-b-Abdullah Sayyid Muhammad

b. Muhammad b. Abdullah, the founder of the Nurbakhshiya sect was born in Qain in Kohistan in 795 A.H./1393 A.D. After finishing his education, he became a disciple of Khawaja Ishaq of Khaltan, who was himself a disciple of Ali Hamadani. Khawaja Ishaq gave him the title of 'Nur Bakhsh' (light giver), and conferred upon him the mantle of Sayyid Ali Hamadani, and then acclaimed him as the Mehdi, the Lord of his time and Imam. But this brought Sayyid Muhammad Nurbakhsh to the notice of Shah Rukh, Timur's son and successor, who had thrown him into prison. As he did not completely renounce his pretensions, he had to undergo thrice long terms of imprisonment, and it was only at Shah Rukh's death in 850 A.H./1447 A.D. that he finally secured his freedom. He then settled in Ray where he died in 869 A.H./1464 A.D. at the age of seventythree. He was succeeded by his son Shah Qasim as his Khalifa (981 A.H./1573 A.D.). For a detailed account of the life of Sayyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh, see for details *Ency. of Islam*, pp. 453 sqq.

8. For details see *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 434 to 437.
9. Firishta, p. 647 (Bombay ed.).
10. Firishta says that during his own time most of the soldiers were Shi-ites and the Chaks who were Shi-ites, maintained that Shams-ud-Din was a Shi-ite, pp. 480, 647.
11. The author of *Baharistan-i Shahi* being himself Shia, has written much in praise of Shams Iraqi and has criticised Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin for his religious toleration. He writes while Zain-ul-Abidsn has encouraged icon worship and restored Hinduism, Shams-ud-Din Iraqi the great one, destroyed it (*B.S.*, pp. 36 and 57).
12. *Tuzuk* (II, p. 149) and Biddulph have confused the Nurbakhshias with the followers of Nur-ud-Din Rishi, a contemporary of Zain-ul-Abidin (Biddulph, Tribes of Hindookosh, Calcutta, 1880), p. 125.
13. See for details of Mirza Haidar religious attitude.
14. For similarity and distinction between Shia and Nurbakhshiya sects, see Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, Appendix A.
15. The orthodox sect of the Shia or Imamyaha received the following as the rightful Khalifas (1) Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, (2) Ali Hasan, son of Ali, (3) Al Hasan, the second son of Ali, (4) Ali, surnamed Zain-ul-Abidin, the son of Ali Hasan, (5) Muhammad-Al-Baqir, son of Zain-ul-Abidin, (6) Jafar-as-Sadiq, son of Muhammad-Al-Baqir, (7) Musa-al-Kazim, son of Jafar, (8) Ar-Baza, son of Musa, (9) Muhammad-ul-Taqi, son of Ar-Raza, (10) Ali Naqi, son of Muhammad Taqi, (11) Al Hasan

Al Askari, son of Ali Naqi and lastly (12) Muhammad, son of Ali Hasan-al-Askari. For detailed information, see *Ency. of Islam*, pp. 570-79. Also see, *Dictionary of Islam*.

16. Mohibbul Hasan, 'Appendix A'.
17. Ibid.
18. *B.S.*, ff. 89a-b; Suka, p. 353.
19. *T.R*, p. 436.
20. *B.S*, ff. 121a-122b.
21. For details of Yaqub Shah's Religious Activities, see Chapter 7. Also see Suka, p. 420.

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